

Women and the Scottish Universities circa 1869-1939:
A social history.

Sheila Hamilton

PhD
University of Edinburgh
1987



Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that it is entirely my own work.

Sheila Hamilton

Abstract

This study examines the two-phase development of the movement for the higher education of women in Scotland from 1869 to 1939. The first phase covers the period from the mid-1860s when the movement to gain the admission of women to the Scottish Universities was first begun. The efforts of pioneer women and individual professors were crucial and contributed largely to the foundation of women's educational associations in Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow. The establishment of lecture courses and university certificates marked considerable progress towards the goal of university admission. This was achieved by the passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889 and subsequent Ordinances which gave the universities power to admit women. The separate dynamics of the medical women's campaign and in particular the role of Sophia Jex-Blake are also examined in some detail. The second phase covers the period from 1892 when the Ordinance admitting women was passed. In this period the levels of integration and acceptance of women students are assessed both at the formal level and at the informal level of integration into the social and corporate life of the universities. Full informal integration did not occur due to the 'separate' nature of many of their social activities including Women's Unions, committees and societies.

The thesis then examines the quantitative development of women students, assessing the patterns and trends of economic and social change as it affected the statistics of matriculation and graduation and the relative position of women compared to men. The social origins of women students are examined revealing through oral evidence and recollections the diversity of perceptions and experiences which occurred within a general middle-class background. The crucial questions raised about the self-awareness of women students are looked at under the key themes of image, identity and consciousness, identifying the feminist perspective in the Women's Debating and Suffrage societies. Finally, the destination and marriage trends of women graduates are examined revealing that the majority of women graduates became teachers and that many did not marry.

Thus the study provides a Scottish dimension and insight into the general movement for the higher education of women and reveals some of the perceptions, origins and experiences which shaped the lives of a significant group of women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Contents

Acknowledgements	
List of Abbreviations	
List of illustrations	
Introduction	Page 1
Chapter 1	
The development of the women's higher education movement in Scotland in the nineteenth century	12
Chapter 2	
Integration and acceptance: the first two decades	140
Chapter 3	
The statistics of matriculation and graduation: women at the Scottish Universities 1892-1939	196
Chapter 4	
Lifestyles and experiences of women students: the oral evidence.	283
Chapter 5	
Feminism in the Scottish Universities	335
Chapter 6	
Women Graduates: Career, marriage and public life	382
Conclusions	432
Appendices	453
Bibliography	479

Acknowledgements

In writing this thesis I am most grateful for advice, support and information from a wide variety of people. In particular I would like to record my appreciation of the guidance and direction received from Dr Bob Morris who gave his unfailing support throughout. I would also wish to thank Professor Christopher Smout and Dr Donald Mackenzie. In addition I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Social and Economic Research Council (formerly the Social Science Research Council). I am also most grateful to Miss I S Geddie and the Social Science Postgraduate Studies Committee for their consideration and support.

I also acknowledge my thanks to the late Professor Sydney G Checkland and Dr Bob Holton formerly of Glasgow University who first directed me into post-graduate research. I would also like to record my appreciation of Professor Anthony Slaven's encouragement in recent years. The support and enthusiasm of my post-graduate colleague, Helen Corr, has also been most helpful throughout. I would also like to thank generally the many other members of staff in various departments at Edinburgh University who gave me advice and useful ideas about the location of primary sources.

The research would not have been completed without the cooperation of numerous libraries and archives in Scotland who willingly retrieved records and books for me. In particular I would acknowledge the help of the staff of the Manuscripts department, Edinburgh University Library, Mr Michael Moss and staff of Glasgow University Archives, Mrs Manchester of the Bailie Library, Glasgow, the staffs of the Central Library and National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, and the staff of the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, and Mr Smart, the archivist of St Andrews University.

The research would also not have been completed and written up without the help and assistance of many friends and relatives. To my husband who has supported my work with great patience and endurance over the years I record my deepest gratitude and to my daughter Lynsey who, although too young to appreciate what has been going on, has been very enduring of my frequent disappearances. To babysitters and child-minders, especially Alison Neill without whom much would not have been achieved, many thanks. My thanks also go to my parents, John and Olive Cubbage, who have been a tremendous help in every way but in particular in the loan of a microcomputer and printer to achieve the final production of this thesis. I am also grateful for help from my parents-in-law, other members of the family and friends. I would also like to thank Susan Fyfe who helped with the typing of some of the Appendices and the transcripts of the oral material.

Lastly I would like especially to acknowledge the help and encouragement received from the many women graduates who so willingly welcomed me into their homes, gave me hospitality and furnished me with an insight into the lives of university women which I would otherwise have missed. Although there are too many to mention them all, I would especially like to thank Mrs Grant, Mrs Masson Gulland, Mrs Milligan, Mrs Stewart, Mrs Jack, Mrs Macleod, Miss Barbara Napier, Miss Marion Lohead and Mrs Macnicol not only for the help they gave me with their own reminiscences but also with their suggestions of people to contact and names of famous women graduates to consider. To all of them and those not mentioned I acknowledge their help with many thanks. To the late Miss Isabella Carrie, a suffragette in Dundee, former pupil teacher, a centenarian and a great exponent of the cause of women who fired me with enthusiasm in the very earliest days of research I record with affection the inspiration she was. Sadly, she and many of the informants are no longer alive and this thesis I hope in some way records some of the thoughts and experiences which shaped their lives. (1)

1. To preserve the anonymity of informants and to protect copyright on the oral history material located in this thesis, it would be appreciated if readers would not quote the names of informants in any way and certainly not reproduce any quotation without the express written permission of the author.

List of Abbreviations

ALEA	Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association
AU	Aberdeen University
AUR	Aberdeen University Review
BSc	Bachelor of Science
BFUW	British Federation of University Women
BD	Bachelor of Divinity
DD	Doctor of Divinity
DLitt	Doctor of Letters
DSc	Doctor of Science
ELEA	Edinburgh Ladies Education Association
EAUEW	Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women
ECL	Edinburgh Central Library
EU	Edinburgh University
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
EUWDS	Edinburgh University Women's Debating Society
EUWSS	Edinburgh University Women's Suffrage Society
GAHEW	Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women
GUA	Glasgow University Archives
GU	Glasgow University
GUM	Glasgow University Magazine
LLA	Lady Literate in Arts
LLB	Bachelor of Laws
LLD	Honorary Doctor of Letters
MA	Master of Arts
MBChB	Bachelor of Medicine and Master of Surgery
MD	Doctor of Medicine
NAPSS	National Association for the Promotion of Social Science
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
QMC	Queen Margaret College
QMCLDS	Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society
QMCWSS	Queen Margaret College Women's Suffrage Society
RGC	Registrar General's Classification
SJB	Sophia Jex-Blake
STAU	St Andrews University
UEJ	University of Edinburgh Journal
UGC	University Grants Committee
WSPU	Women's Social and Political Union

List of tables and illustrations

Chapter 1

tables:

- 1.1 Attendance at the ELEA 1867-1877
- 1.2 Attendance at the EAUEW 1878-1890
- 1.2 Attendance at the GAHEW 1877-1890

Chapter 3

Graphs:

- 3.1 Matriculation at St Andrews University 1893-1939
- 3.2 Faculty of Arts, St Andrews University
- 3.3 Faculty of Science, St Andrews University
- 3.4 Faculty of Medicine, St Andrews University
- 3.5 Degrees Awarded - St Andrews University 1893-1914
- 3.6 Matriculation at Aberdeen University 1892-1939
- 3.7 Faculty of Arts, Aberdeen University
- 3.8 Faculty of Medicine, Aberdeen University
- 3.9 Faculty of Science, Aberdeen University
- 3.10 Degrees Awarded - Aberdeen University 1893-1914
- 3.11 Matriculation at Edinburgh University 1893-1939
- 3.12 Faculty of Medicine, Edinburgh University
- 3.13 Faculty of Arts, Edinburgh University
- 3.14 Faculty of Science, Edinburgh University
- 3.15 Degrees Awarded - Edinburgh University 1892-1939
- 3.16 Matriculation at Glasgow University 1892-1939
- 3.17 Faculty of Arts, Glasgow University
- 3.18 Faculty of Medicine, Glasgow University
- 3.19 Faculty of Science, Glasgow University
- 3.20 Degrees Awarded - Glasgow University 1893-1914

Tables:

- 3A Matriculation at St Andrews and Dundee 1894-1914
- 3B Percentage of men and women St Andrews University 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10, 1914-15
- 3C Full-time students St Andrews University by percentage share 1919-1939
- 3D Degrees Awarded St Andrews University 1893-1914
- 3E Percentage of men and women Aberdeen University 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10, 1914-15
- 3F Full-time students Aberdeen University by percentage share 1919-1939
- 3G Degrees Awarded- Aberdeen University 1893-1914
- 3H Percentage of men and women Edinburgh University 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10, 1914-15
- 3I Full-time students Edinburgh University by percentage share 1919-1939
- 3J Degrees Awarded - Edinburgh University 1893-1914

- 3K Percentage of men and women Glasgow University 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10, 1914-15
- 3L Full-time students Glasgow University by percentage share 1919-1939
- 3M Degrees Awarded - Glasgow University 1893-1914
- 3N Matriculation at the Scottish Universities 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10
- 3P Total Degrees Awarded 1893-1914
- 3Q Percentage Female Share 1914-18
- 3R Full-time students at the Scottish Universities 1924-1925 and 1934-1935.
- 3S Percentage share of total women students at the Scottish Universities 1924-1925, 1934-1935

Chapter 4

Table:

- 4.1 Number of Informants and University Background
- 4.2 Father's Occupation of Informants

Chapter 5

Table:

- 5.1 Membership figures EUWDS, 1893-1914

Chapter 6

Tables:

- 6.1 The 'graduate' rate at Glasgow University in four sample years
- 6.2 'Designation' of women graduates : Glasgow University 1894-1914
- 6.3 Marriage patterns of women graduates :Glasgow University 1894-1914
- 6.4 Career patterns - the oral evidence

Appendices

Appendix to Chapter 3:-

- 3.1 Matriculation at the Scottish Universities 1892-1919
- 3.2 UGC Returns: entrant figures 1919-39
- 3.3 Degrees awarded at the Scottish Universities 1893-1939
- 3.4 Degrees awarded - Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen 1919-1939

Appendix to Chapter 4:-

Some statistics on the social background of women students at Glasgow University

Appendix to Chapter 6:-

Biographical notes

"Ye fusty old fogies, Professors by name,
A deed you've been doing of sorrow and shame;
Though placed in your chairs to spread knowledge abroad
Against half of mankind you would shut up the road;
College honours and lore from the fair you withdraw
By enforcing against them a strict Salic law;
Is it fear; is it envy; or what can it be?
And why should a woman not get a degree?"

Verse by Lord Neaves

quoted in A Logan Turner (ed),
History of the University of
Edinburgh 1883-1933, page 40)

Introduction

The task of the historian in any investigation is to research, gather information, explain and assess any patterns or trends , ideas or experiences. The admission of women to the Scottish Universities in 1892 is one such event which offers the opportunity to explore a group of people who experienced social change in a wide variety of ways. They experienced this change largely through external forces in their lives such as economic development, government legislation, improvements in social welfare, political change and national events like war. For women in Great Britain the period from 1850 through the Victorian and Edwardian eras to the 1920's and 1930's was one when all these forces of change were present and in particular to the generation of women who experienced university life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Therefore the examination of the origins of the women's higher and university education movements in the second half of the 19th century in Scotland offers the historian a chance to look at one group of people whose destiny was both shaped by their own achievements and by the external forces of change in society which impinged on their lives .

The Universities (Scotland) Act of 1892 allowed the Scottish Universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St Andrews to admit women to matriculation , to attend classes and to graduate. It was a wide ranging Act which covered in its clauses much more than just the admission of women but the particular clause concerning women heralded a milestone in the women's education movement .

Therefore looking backwards from 1892 this thesis examines the development of the campaign to gain women access and subsequently full admission to universities . From small beginnings when individual women voiced their aims of achieving admission the narrative outlines the changes in Scottish education which aided their campaign and more specifically the origins and development of the women's educational associations. Their demands were met eventually and their aims recognised in the passing of the 1892 Act. In addition the study of the pre-1892 era reveals the divergence and differing aims of the medical women's campaign from that of the educational associations and the effect of one upon the other.

However the thesis also looks forward from 1892 to examine the integration of women into the Scottish Universities, both at formal and informal levels , and the impact on women themselves of entrance to higher education. Therefore as well as a quantitative analysis of matriculation figures and graduation trends the study

looks at the social background of women students, their personal experiences of university as retold through recollections and reminiscences which highlighted women students' lifestyles both at university and in the home.

While 'women's history' is a very popular area of historical investigation at this time it is true to say that with one or two exceptions there has been little attempt to examine the women's movement in Scotland and specifically look at the role of women in education. (1) Scottish educational histories and university histories deal in generalities and specific references to women's education are rare. (2) Much has been written about the

1. Two articles based on some of the early researches of this thesis have now been published. See 'Interviewing the middle-class: women graduates of the Scottish Universities c. 1910-1935' in Oral History volume 10, no 2 1982 and 'The first generations of University Women 1869-1930' in Donaldson, G (ed) Four Centuries Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983 (1983). See also Corr, H 'The sexual division of labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914' in Humes, Walter M & Paterson, Hamish M Scottish Culture and Scottish Education (1983); Corr, Helen, The gender division of labour in the Scottish teaching profession 1872-1914 with particular reference to elementary school teaching. (PhD Edinburgh 1984); Marshall, R. K. , Virgins and Viragos. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980. (London, 1983); King, Elspeth The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement (pamphlet 1978); Glasgow Women's Studies Group Uncharted Lives (Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850 - 1982) (1983); Moore, L. R. 'Aberdeen and the Higher Education of Women 1868-1877' Aberdeen University Review (AUR), no 163, Spring 1980; Moore, L. R. 'The Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association 1877-1883' Northern Scotland vol iii, 1977-80, pages 123-57

2. For example, Scotland, James The History of Scottish Education. (2 vols. 1969); G.E.Davie The Democratic Intellect. Scotland and her Universities in the nineteenth century. (1964); Knox, H. M., Two Hundred and fifty years of Scottish Education, 1696 - 1946. (1953).

development of schools for girls and the women's education movement in England and Wales but accounts have always tended to be generalised versions of the particular college or university or, to be repetitive histories of the pioneering campaigners in England such as the Misses Buss and Beale, Emily Davies and Annie Clough or general accounts of the women's movement in England and Wales. (3) More recent studies of the women's movement have failed to look at the Scottish experience. (4)

Specific studies of Scottish educational themes - on geographical mobility of students, graduate recruitment to teaching and social class and opportunities for example - have certainly thrown some light on particular aspects in Scotland which are central to both sexes but coverage of particular developments which are crucial for the role of women is insufficient and often deals with a more modern time period. (5)

3. For example Kamm, J. Hope Deferred. Girls' Education in English History. (1965); Turner, Barry Equality for some; the story of girls' education. (1974); Burstall, Sara Retrospect and Prospect. Sixty years of women's education (1933); Vicinus, M. (ed), Suffer and Be Still (1972), and Vicinus, M. (ed) A Widening Sphere; changing roles of Victorian Women.

4. Delamont S., & Duffin, L. Nineteenth Century Woman: her cultural and physical world. (1978); Vicinus, M. (ed) Independent Women. Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920; Banks, Olive, Becoming a Feminist. The social origins of 'First Wave' Feminism. (1986) and Banks, Olive, Faces of Feminism (1981).

5. For example, Mackay, D. I. Geographical mobility and the brain drain. A case study of Aberdeen university graduates, 1860-1960 (1969); Mercer, G., 'Some aspects of recruitment to school teaching among university graduates in Scotland 1860-1955' Journal of Educational Studies vol xxiii, no 1 1975; McDonald, Ian D 'Untapped reservoirs of talent? Social class and opportunities in Scottish Higher Education', Scottish Educational Studies, i 1967.

More recently, Dr R D Anderson has re-interpreted Scottish educational history as written by Davie and others. Anderson looks at the fundamental changes which took place in the Scottish schools and links them to the reforms at university level. (6) He focuses on the changing demands for education from within the social groups in Scotland and plays down the impact of any anglicising tendencies which Davie's interpretation has of the changing content of Scottish educational provision. Anderson also closely examines the 'democratic nature' of educational opportunity for pupils and students alike.

This thesis goes further to adjust the balance in favour of women students who deserve to be studied in their own right as a particular and unique group within the university community. This study of women in the Scottish Universities looks at the historical development of women's position in higher education in the first instance and then goes on in the latter sections to place some feminist perspective on the historical evidence. Of course, account must be taken of particular aspects of women's history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which might have had some influence on the experiences of women students and graduates. Thus the suffrage question is a frequent theme as are women's

6. Anderson, R.D. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland (1983)

organisations and societies. The medical women who had their own battle with the university authorities were seen by contemporaries as militant campaigners for women's rights and their story will be considered in some detail. Within the university system areas of discrimination and separation did occur, especially in the early days at Glasgow University where, for example, separate classes for women were the norm for many years.

The relationship between the pioneering heroines and the generation of women who experienced the benefits of the efforts of their pioneering predecessors is also important. The later generation tended to take university admission very much for granted. Nostalgic acknowledgement of the great pioneering heroines like Sophia Jex-Blake or Elsie Inglis was frequently made by women graduates but it was overtaken by an almost complacent acceptance of their own position in university life. Again external forces may have played a part in this attitude. The theme of educational heroines influencing the next generation has an important place in the history of the women's higher education movement in Scotland. They were influential women and their stories have lived on in historical documents and biographic accounts.

These themes are developed and explored in the following chapters. Thus Chapter One examines the development of the women's higher education movement in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century. It gives an

historical account of the foundation and aims of the various women's higher educational associations, the provision of external classes for women and the role of individual professors in the campaign to gain admission to the Scottish Universities. A tour is made of the individual centres of university learning to explore the setting up of women's associations at local level and to identify some of the pioneers who campaigned vigorously for change. It is however not the intention to explore in any great detail the general educational changes which took place in elementary and secondary schools or in the general institutional developments except in the way it affected the development of women's admission to the Scottish Universities.

The narrative is continued in Chapter Two , describing the pattern of integration and acceptance of women within the universities , again examining the local centres in some detail. An overall assessment will be made of the achievements which women students had made by the end of the period of integration and acceptance , that is by 1914. Chapter Three presents a statistical picture of these achievements providing graphical and tabular evidence on matriculation and graduation trends for both men and women at Glasgow, Aberdeen , Edinburgh and St Andrews .The emphasis is placed on the outflow of women graduates from the universities rather than on entrants which previous studies have employed.

In Chapter Four one of the most important questions examined is the identification of the women students. From what social background did they come? Did they exhibit the same pattern of social origins as their male counterparts? Did the pattern change over time? What were their motivations and expectations? Did they enjoy their university life? These are just some of the questions examined in the discussion on 'lifestyles and experiences' of university women. The middle-class background of women in higher education has been a basic assumption of studies of the women's movement in general. This assumption is examined in the light of data available regarding the social composition of Scottish students and in this chapter the oral evidence is presented to highlight and support these assumptions by assessing key factors such as perceptions of home background, attitudes to education and social interaction with other students. The presentation of oral evidence is a quite deliberate attempt to personalise the general experiences of women students - not to highlight heroic figures or the feminist image but to identify and illustrate the university experiences of individual women graduates who were not prominent figures. In doing so questions are raised about the perceptions of women students regarding their own position in society and in relation to their awareness of any specific contemporary women's causes.

This whole area of 'feminism in the universities' is discussed in Chapter Five under the headings of 'image',

'identity' and 'consciousness'. There are certainly quite clear areas where women's voices were heard and where they created a separate identity deliberately and not because they were excluded from similar male societies or associations. There are certainly areas of discrimination where outrage and indignation spill into University Court battles and extensive press coverage as witnessed by the campaign of Margaret Nairn and others to gain the vote in their own right as members of the University of Edinburgh's General Council.

The final chapter of this narrative draws together the threads of evidence on the careers and marriage trends of women graduates. In researching into the career and marriage trends of women graduates it became clear that this would have to be a limited study. The first reason for this was that the abundance of data on other aspects of the history of women at the Scottish Universities placed a time restriction on further investigation. Secondly and more significantly preliminary investigation produced no unusual trends or patterns. Thirdly the basic data available proved to be less reliable than one might have hoped for and this was also a limiting factor. Nonetheless the material is presented in the final chapter as a postscript to further study and as an indication of the destination of women after their university experiences and the choices open to them in the pre-1939 era.

University women - some definitions

It might seem simplistic to define the group of women under discussion in this thesis. However the definitions are crucial to clarify the labels which are attached to women at the universities. At one level the definitions merely act as a guide to who's who. First of all there were the pioneers, essential to the birth of 'university women' and indeed who were part of the cumulative pattern of recruitment of other women to university. Just as sons and daughters of lawyers, doctors or other professions might follow their parents into a particular profession, so a similar trend can be seen in the role of heroic pioneers publicising entrance to university. These pioneers were the women campaigners who from the mid nineteenth century onwards worked to improve the educational opportunities and provision for girls and women. Alongside them were the women who set up the ladies educational associations and the women students who attended the various classes. The pioneers were therefore the forerunners of the 'university women' group but vital to its birth and continuity.

'University women' are therefore defined as all those women connected with the Scottish Universities after the 1889 Act. In the early years this group contained a number who had previously been campaigners or involved in the associations. The group can be divided into several sub-groups. The largest and most important was matriculated women students and of these a proportion become graduates.

The thesis concentrates by and large on the women graduate group. There were also matriculated women students who did not graduate. The modern day term for this would be 'drop-out rate' but this was not necessarily the interpretation placed by contemporaries on the failure to graduate. The second sub-group of university women was the non-matriculated women students of whom there were a number, mainly those attending classes privately and a difficult group to identify in primary sources being a transient minority. The third sub-group was the group of women involved in the running of the university, either as wardens of the halls of residence, advisers to women students or members of staff.

Thus this thesis aims to provide a Scottish dimension to the history of the higher education of women in Scotland encompassing both the highly visible elements of campaigns and educational associations and the hidden elements concealed within the reminiscence process. It provides an insight into the tensions and conflicts which beset the pioneers and sees the culmination of their efforts in the opening of the Scottish Universities to women in 1892. It also examines the period of integration and acceptance of women into the universities from 1892-1939 when the wider social experiences and forces of change interacted with the university life of women students to reveal some important conclusions about the position of women in the Scottish Universities and how their motivations, attitudes, social origins and experiences shaped their lives.

Chapter One

The development of the Women's Higher Education Movement in Scotland in the 19th century

The provision of university education for women at a formal level was first instituted in 1892 by Ordinances of the Universities(Scotland) Act 1889. This event was a reflection of many years of effort and campaigns by a band of pioneering women who deserve a major part of the credit for achieving the admission of women to the Scottish Universities in 1892. Any study of university women must therefore look backwards from 1892 to the early years of awakening of interest in the question of the higher education of women. In 1892, women were formally admitted to lectures, examination and graduation within the university structure. Prior to 1892, various higher educational schemes for women had evolved and developed at different levels in the four Scottish University centres. This provision significantly laid the foundations of women's higher education in Scotland and effectively demonstrated that women had every right to receive the same level of education as men and had the ability, mentally and physically, of coping with the demands of such a university education. In addition the achievement of this was demonstrated by two very different approaches of women to the general question of women's higher education, one being more militant than the other.

Another important aspect of the pre-1892 period was the element of continuity and close links between individuals and associations which occurred after 1892 as we shall see in chapter two. This continuity was vital in the 1890s to the integration and acceptance of women students in the university community. It is therefore important to examine the developments of the pre-1892 era to identify the features which established the foundations of women's higher educational provision in Scotland .

The beginnings of the call for the better education of girls and women really commenced from the late 1840s when Queens College was opened in London in 1848 and Bedford College shortly after. This was the beginning of a nationwide campaign to expand and improve the level of girls' schooling and much of this was focused on the training of governesses. This movement can be illustrated by mention of the activities in England of the two women who first led the trail for medical education, Dr Elizabeth Blackwell and Elizabeth Garrett; by the work of Miss Buss at the North Collegiate School for girls in London, and Miss Beale who founded Cheltenham Ladies College ; and also by the work of Emily Davies who was an ardent campaigner for many educational reforms but is best known for the foundation of Girton College, Cambridge. (1)

1. For further information on these see Tuke, Margaret A History of Bedford College for Women 1849-1937 (1939); Clarke, A K , A History of Cheltenham Ladies College 1853-1953; Stephen, B., Emily Davies and Girton College (1927).

In Scotland there was also a clarion call for improved education for girls and women from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Demand was mixed as was the reception to the call for improved education although at a more general level there was a growing recognition that schooling would need to be improved.

Although the second half of the nineteenth century saw the real developments in women's higher education it is useful to note that even in the pre-1850 period there were some references to girls or women attending some form of university education in Scotland. For example there was the famous case of Dr James Barry, a doctor in the British Army and a graduate from Edinburgh University in 1812 who on death was found to be a woman. (2) There is an even earlier reference to women attending classes at Edinburgh in 1745 when Professor Colin Maclaurin admitted some ladies to his classes and in the mid 1820s Professor Hope also admitted some ladies to a chemistry class. (3) At Aberdeen, Professor Forbes' daughter attended his Chemistry class in the 1820s. (4) In Glasgow, Dr Thomas Garnett opened his Natural Philosophy classes to women at the Andersonian Institute in 1796 and Professor John Hutton Balfour gave lectures in Botany to ladies in

2. Rose, June, The Perfect Gentleman (London, 1977) and Raister, O & Gray, J. Dr James Barry (1932)

3. EUL, MSS aaf e70/40 21st February 1745 and Grant, A., The Story of the University of Edinburgh, vol ii. p 397-8

4. Shepherd, Nan 'Women in the University: Fifty years 1892-1942' in AUR, 29, 1941-2, page 180

1845.(5) These were isolated cases and were not examples of true higher education for women but more representative of forms of upper class leisure .It is also highly likely that from time to time other professors' daughters would have had access to some of the university classes but purely as 'visitors' and not students.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the progress in educational provision for women was punctuated by a series of actions and responses by both individuals and institutions. The geographical focus of this activity was Edinburgh although as will be seen the movement for the higher education of women was not confined in any way to Edinburgh and much of the pattern to developments in the higher education movement in other parts of Scotland had parallel characteristics. However, Edinburgh provides a useful illustration of the levels of action and response to the cry for better education for women. The activities of the women's higher education movement elsewhere in Scotland were more muted and later to develop. The main controversies and debates which surrounded the educational

5. Murray D, Miss Janet Ann Galloway and the Higher Education of Women in Glasgow (1914), p. 6 and Jones, Sir Henry and Muirhead, John Henry, The Life And Philosophy of Edward Caird (1921), p 96

campaign were articulated and acted out in Edinburgh. Two major strands of activity dominated the discussion on the education of women. The first of these was the campaign by a group of determined and energetic women to obtain a medical education with a view to practicing as doctors. This campaign had a high public profile and aroused great controversy not only in Edinburgh but throughout the country. It was a divisive struggle which did no credit to the university authorities and the argument that women should be allowed to study medicine at Edinburgh University was only a transient victory for the women medicals. In contrast the second strand of activity was the setting up in Edinburgh in 1867 of an Association to promote the education of women. The Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association was fostered by professorial support and developed by a diligent band of women pioneers into an Association with direct links to the University and eventually was officially recognised by the university authorities.

First attempts

As has already been outlined, by 1860, stirrings of women's consciousness about their differing roles in the family, work and society had begun to emerge. Elizabeth Garrett was one such product of this new age of enlightened thought. She decided to follow in the footsteps of Elizabeth Blackwell, an English woman who had graduated

in medicine from an American university and by virtue of the new Medical Act of 1858 was the only registered woman doctor in Britain. Accordingly Elizabeth Garrett set about obtaining some medical training. This was not easy given the climate of opinion in mid-Victorian society. The full story of her struggle to obtain a medical education is told elsewhere but it is important to narrate some of her experiences to illustrate the general problems facing women who attempted a medical education and also because some of her story was acted out in Scotland. (6) She spent some time as a nurse at the Middlesex Hospital where she gained much practical experience albeit on a voluntary basis and also received some private coaching. Her request to be classed as a medical student was refused although she was allowed to attend a special series of lectures and demonstrations for which she paid fees. It was this level of participation which began to arouse hostility and suspicion and when she made things worse in the eyes of the male students by performing well in an exam then it was decided that she should no longer be allowed to attend the hospital. This was at the end of July, 1861.

One of the many arguments used against women training to be doctors was that there was no examining body for them. In August, 1861, the Hall of Apothecaries announced it

6. J G Manton, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (London, 1965) and Bell, E Moberly, Storming the Citadel (London, 1953)

would examine women who met the necessary qualifications; which were to be apprenticed to a doctor for five years and to receive instruction from recognised tutors. At the end of this, a female candidate would be listed in the Medical Register as a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. Elizabeth Garrett immediately undertook this course but it was not her final aim. She wanted a full medical degree and tried to petition the University of London which was about to renew its charter and opportunities for a change in its constitution were possible. After much discussion the Senate ruled against degrees for women and faced with the prospect of no English authority being prepared to countenance the demand of prospective women medicals, Elizabeth Garrett turned to Scotland.

Preliminary enquiries in 1861 to the Medical Examining Boards in Edinburgh and Glasgow had failed.(7) In 1862 she went to St Andrews under the wing of Dr Day, the Regius Professor of medicine and a supporter of her cause. She was invited to attend his lectures and obtained a matriculation ticket. When the authorities discovered this she was requested by the Senate to return it. A legal debate followed about the legality of her holding this 'membership' ticket. The final outcome was a decision that although the constitution permitted the admission of women the Senate could exercise its discretion to exclude

7. Moore, L. R., 'Aberdeen and the Higher Education of Women 1868-1877', AUR, no 163, Spring 1980, page 280

any student. Elizabeth Garrett then went on to attend some lectures and receive private tuition in Edinburgh but was refused admission as a student.(8) She did however make some useful contacts including Sir James Y Simpson and Dr John Struthers.(9) In 1866 she passed the Society of Apothecaries examination and one year later was registered on the Medical Register to join Dr Elizabeth Blackwell. The Society however then took steps to debar any further female candidates on the grounds that they had to have worked in a recognised medical school. Thus another avenue to gain registration on the Medical Council was denied.

Although Elizabeth Garrett's attempt to study for a medical degree had failed in Scotland and elsewhere, her campaign had left behind a growing awareness of the demands for improved education for women as well as the specific demands of women wishing to enter the medical profession. This awakening of interest can be seen in a whole range of developments in the remainder of the decade of the 1860s. Beyond Edinburgh, Emily Davies had successfully persuaded the Cambridge authorities to open its 'middle class examinations' to girls in 1863 and this

8. Moore, L.R., 'The movement for the Higher Education of women up to 1883.' (unpublished), p 2

9. Moore, *ibid.* John Struthers became Professor of Anatomy at Aberdeen University in 1863 before which he was at Edinburgh University from 1845 to 1863. Sir James Y Simpson is best known for his discovery of 'chloroform'

received nationwide publicity.(10) The whole area of action and response to the demands for better education of girls in England is well documented elsewhere.(11)

In Edinburgh, three areas of activity can be highlighted which contributed to the growing debate on women's education and acted as catalysts to a greater or lesser extent to promote new discussion and change. The first of these was a meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in Edinburgh in 1863. The second was the formation of a quite respectable and refined body called the Edinburgh Essay Society. Thirdly and perhaps most significantly the University of Edinburgh introduced its local examinations. These three factors were particularly important as regards women's higher education. There were of course many other educational changes taking place but many of these only had an indirect effect on the position of women's higher education and are therefore outwith the scope of this present discussion.

10 Stephen, B., op. cit.

11. Kamm, J. Hope Deferred (1965) and Turner, B. Equality for Some (1974)

See also Bibliography for further references.

Firstly then, one arena for the discussion of the various issues of the women's education movement was the meetings of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science(12); from the 1860s there was considerable discussion of numerous topics on general educational issues, women's higher education, women's work and the plight of the single woman. It was to become an important forum for discussion and debate on these topics which were wide-ranging and prolific. Its participants were articulate and eminent people in their own right.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the NAPSS was its admission of women as members and participants . The topics reflected national issues and an examination of them gives a clear impression of the concerns of contemporaries and the changing emphasis and interest in different subjects. These discussions on women's education continued for many years at the NAPSS meetings.(13)

The NAPSS also showed the social network of people who were interested in reform. For example, at the London meeting in 1862, Emily Davies spoke on "Medicine as a Profession for Women", stressing the need for enlightened public opinion.(14) This was at a time when the University of London was raising objections to the admission of women

12. Abbreviated to NAPSS. Founded in 1857

13. Published in Transactions of the NAPSS

14. TNAPSS, 1862, pages 810-811

to the detriment of people like Elizabeth Garrett. Emily Davies and Elizabeth Garrett were friends , writing regularly to each other for advice and support and had met through their work on the publication of the English Woman's Journal .(15)

Also in 1862, the London meeting laughed and ridiculed the paper by Frances Power Cobbe on 'University Degrees for Women'. (16). One year later in Edinburgh, an advocate, W A Brown spoke on the same subject, 'the admission of women to academical degrees', and noted:

"..degrees were of value to men so far only as they had a practical bearing on professional life, and it could be as producing a similar result that they were coveted by women. The question, therefore, was whether it was expedient that women should engage in active professional labour" (17)

Even at this early stage in the general debate on university degrees for women, Brown had hit the most important point of Victorian attitudes to the possibility of giving women any higher education which had a qualification attached to it and which implied entering the professions. It was this factor which aroused fear and resentment and it was a continual and recurring theme of arguments against women receiving higher education. Brown made note that some 'honorary distinction' was desirable to stimulate and cultivate the mind but the whole matter

15. Moberley Bell, op. cit. pages 17-21

16. Kamm,J. op. cit. p 184

17. TNAPSS 1863, page 355

of women in the professions was quite untenable. He concluded thus:

"..to admit women into the learned professions was to make women do the work of men, and the result of that was to leave us without women , and to leave women's work undone." (18)

Here then was a typical attitude to women receiving education which was not aimed at trivia and accomplishments of a genteel nature like sewing, painting or drawing. The role of women was to maintain the domesticity of the home and academic education would unsex them. Not all participants at the meeting agreed with this viewpoint. Some disagreed with the view that a degree was a passport to a professional career and others felt that a higher education institution for women outside the universities was preferable.

This separatist view was a common one. Sara Delamont has made a useful analysis of the stance which educational reformers took.(19) There were those both male and female who wanted separate provision of higher education, separation for respectability reasons and separation as being better than nothing at all; in other words they advocated a modified equivalent of the higher education offered to men. Then there were those who were in

18. *ibid.*

19. Delamont, Sara, 'The Contradictions in Ladies' Education' in Delamont, Sara & Duffin, Lorna, *Nineteenth Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World.* (1978)

Delamont's words 'uncompromising'. These were the campaigners like Emily Davies who wanted equality of provision and equality of opportunity within existing higher educational institutions alongside men, whatever the faults of the existing system. The English experience shows that the two groups formed their own colleges to provide some measure of university education.

Thus Emily Davies founded Girton College, Cambridge, located initially at Hitchin in 1869 and then at Girton in 1873 and Somerville College was founded at Oxford in 1879, both founded on the 'uncompromising' principles of rigid adherence to male standards. On the separatists' side Newnham College, Cambridge was founded by Annie Jemima Clough, the result of the amalgamation by Miss Clough of the Association for Promoting the Higher Education of Women in Cambridge and Newnham Hall(founded 1873) in 1880. Lady Margaret Hall was the Oxford equivalent. (20)

The Edinburgh meeting of the NAPSS serves as an illustration of the beginnings of public discussion on women's higher education. Another illustration of public discussion, although of a much more exclusive nature, was the formation of the Edinburgh Essay Society in 1865. It

20. Delamont, Sara, op. cit.p 158. See also V Brittain, The Women at Oxford; McWilliams-Tullberg,R., 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897' in Martha Vicinus(ed) A Widening Sphere (1977)

reflected the one example of the first early stirrings towards expressions of feminine consciousness. It was later renamed the Edinburgh Literary Society and then the Ladies Edinburgh Literary Society. From 1880 it was known solely as the Ladies Edinburgh Debating Society. (21) This small literary society consisted of a small group of women meeting in their own homes. The main venue was the home of Major Arthur Mair and his wife, Harriet Murray Siddons Mair, grand-daughter of the famous actress Sarah Siddons. Their house was at 5 Chester Street and their daughter, Sarah, acted as President and was instrumental in this society's formation. Sarah E S Mair later became an activist in many different feminist spheres and became renowned as a true pioneer of women's education.(22) The ladies who attended these meetings produced in the early years a magazine called The Attempt, renamed the Ladies Edinburgh Magazine until 1880 when it reverted solely to a debating society. Seen as a training school for public speaking, it remained active until 1935. It was a very elite group numerically and status-wise yet it was important.

21. Rae, Lettice Milne (ed) Ladies in Debate (Edinburgh, 1936)

22. S E S Mair was born 23/9/1846. She was an ardent campaigner for women's rights and closely involved in the Edinburgh Ladies Debating Society, the ELEA, St George's School, President of the Women's Franchise Association. She was also involved in Bruntisfield Hospital for Women and Children. Died 13/2/1941.

Describing the activities of the society, Moray McLaren commented:

"..it is a remarkable evocation of feminine and upper and upper middle class life in the New Town of Edinburgh .. among a class of women in this town during a period...which is commonly supposed to have been timidly exclusive... They really cared about things , these New Town Edinburgh Ladies, and, in this caring, they were quite prepared to face what must have been uxurious frowns from their husbands when they went home again from their meeting house in Chester Street.... The fact is that they were educating themselves in semi-public at a time when the higher education was denied to them in Scotland. They could not go to the university here and had little inclination to travel abroad to the feminine establishments which were at that time , uneasily hanging on to the perimeter of the Oxbridges." (23)

It was indeed important in three different ways. Firstly many of its members were also members or promoters of women's education.(24) Secondly, it was reputed to have held the earliest debate by women in a society on the Parliamentary franchise although this was neither in public or a fully representative body of women's opinion.(25) The third reason for the Society's importance was that it provided a forum for one of Edinburgh's educational pioneers, Mrs Mary Crudelius. It was at one of the meetings of the Edinburgh Essay Society that she first voiced her views on the need to improve the education of women and proposed the launch of a ladies' educational association.(26)

23. Scotsman, 19/3/1962

24. Rae, passim.

25. ibid.

26. ibid.

The third sphere of activity was at an institutional level and had a more general impact on educational developments than the small stirrings towards feminine consciousness of the Edinburgh Essay Society. This was the introduction of local examinations by Edinburgh University in 1865. These examinations were to be opened to pupils of middle and upper schools of Scotland " to supply a common test of attainment both for pupils of public schools and for those privately educated. (27) The examination would be held in various local centres, offering certificates of different grades and prizes and open to both sexes.(28) Cambridge University had opened its middle class examinations to girls unofficially in 1863 after a campaign by Emily Davies and was formally instituted in 1865, the same year as Edinburgh started its scheme. St Andrews followed suit and also started its own local examination schemes in 1867. Glasgow followed later in 1877 and Aberdeen in 1880. (29)

27. Grant, A. op.cit., page 157. Two levels of examination were set, a junior level for the 13 to 15 years age group and a Senior level for 14 to 18 years. The fees were 20/- for an Ordinary certificate and 30/- for the Honours level.
28. The local examinations were to become dominated by girl candidates.
29. Scotland, J. The History of Scottish Education (1969) volume two, page 66

In 1866, three centres were set up at Edinburgh, Inverness and Newton Stewart. The number of female candidates in the first few years were small. In 1866, twelve girls sat the exam and three failed; all those who failed were female Junior candidates from the Ewart Institute, Newton Stewart. In the following year the number of female candidates examined was 23 and 18 passed. Until the 1870s the number of female candidates hovered around the 20 to 30 mark. (30) These were early days for the new scheme and its ability to attract girls to the examination was linked to the academic level of girls' schooling, the actual opportunities for girls to be educated at secondary level and also to the interest of candidates themselves. In addition, the acceptance by parents and teachers of the fact that their daughters or pupils could have their academic ability tested in this way was totally new ground.

By 1884, Grant noted that there were 42 centres and 891 candidates of whom 746 were now girls. (31) It is not the purpose of this discussion to examine the nature of girls schooling in Scotland in this period but these figures for the number of local examination candidates reflected the expansion in girls' education at all types of secondary schools, girls' private schools and by private tuition.

30. Grant op. cit. page 157

31. Grant op. cit. page 158

It also reflected the number of girls who were educated to a level which made them ready and prepared to go on to some kind of higher education and this in itself was an important facet of the local examination scheme.

Here then were three examples of changing conditions and attitudes to girls and womens' education. The example of an individual like Elizabeth Garrett setting out to obtain a medical education was an indication to the university authorities that there were new demands for better higher educational provision. Then there was the public and semi-public discussion of the need for change through various reform and debating societies as illustrated by the NAPSS and the Edinburgh Essay Society. Then there was the example of an institution like Edinburgh University making provision for the examination of academic standards which indirectly opened the doors to higher education for women.

These first steps were only the beginning of many changes. Following in the footsteps of Elizabeth Garrett came Sophia Jex-Blake whose campaign to obtain a medical education at Edinburgh University became one of the most well known events in the history of women's higher education in Scotland. The medical campaign dominated public interest in Edinburgh from 1869 to 1872. This period coincided with the early formative years of the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association of which more will be said later.

Although the Jex Blake campaign has been well documented it will be useful here to provide a summary of events highlighting the main characteristics of the medical campaign in order to contrast it with the development of the ELEA. (32)

Sophia Jex-Blake and the medical campaign

Sophia Jex-Blake was the key personality in the medical campaign in Edinburgh. Inspired by her meetings in America with women doctors and in particular a colleague of Elizabeth Blackwell, Dr Lucy Sewall, Sophia became determined to become a doctor and to gain her medical degree from a British University. (33)

Sophia Jex-Blake arrived in Edinburgh in 1869 having already contacted some of Edinburgh's Professors on the advice of Mrs Josephine Butler. She was given introductions to Professor David Masson, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature and also to Sir James Simpson whom Elizabeth Garrett had also seen when she tried to gain admission to the university. David Masson proved to be a useful ally to the cause of women's education, supporting both the medical women's campaign and the ELEA. (34) He gave her letters of introduction to Professor

32. See page 50.

33. Todd, Margaret, The Life of Sophia Jex-Blake (1918) See also E Moberley Bell, op.cit.; Lutzker, E. Medical Education for Women in Great Britain (1959); Sophia Jex-Blake, Medical Women: A Thesis and History (1886)

34. See page 56-57

John Hutton Balfour, Dean of the Medical Faculty and Professor Robert Christison, senior professor in the Faculty and an important figure in the University.(35) Sophia's object was to find out if the university would be prepared to consider an application from her to study for a medical degree given the fact that the precedent had been recently set in Paris and Zurich. Professor Balfour did not altogether dismiss her enquiry and she proceeded to make a formal application to the medical faculty and to canvass its members and those of the Senatus.(36)

Despite hesitancy on the part of some, including Professor Christison, the Medical faculty recommended to the Senatus their approval of her admission to the classes for which she had applied (these were summer classes) but this approval was surrounded by qualifications; although she could prepare for the matriculation examination, they offered no guarantee that she would be allowed to sit it. This was the start of a long and stormy battle for Sophia Jex-Blake.

35. Professor Christison was the main opposer of the medical women's campaign

36. SJB's op. cit., page 72

The chronology of her struggle requires to be outlined to show the moves and counter-moves made by both sides and to highlight the nature of the personalities involved in the campaign. The debate was indeed very much about personalities as well as the main point of contention about the rights to a medical education. There were six key episodes which occurred over the period 1869 to 1872 which are crucial to the narrative. (37)

The first was the task of Sophia Jex-Blake to secure her position in the medical faculty. The apparent acceptance of her application was soon in question in April 1869 when an appeal was made to the University Court against the Senatus decision to admit her. The Court rescinded the Senatus' decision on the ground of the difficulties of administering the arrangements for 'one lady' but it did not dismiss outright the principle of a medical education for women. Sophia then managed to obtain another four recruits through the publicity of her initial campaign to counter the Court's apparent main objection. The press and in particular, the Scotsman and its editor Alexander Russel ably supported her cause or at least gave it plenty of publicity. The women who contacted her expressing their support and interest were Mrs Isabel Thorne, Edith Pechey, Miss Chaplin and Mrs Evans. She again canvassed for support in the university although this was more difficult than it had been first time round.

37. The following narrative is based on material in the Edinburgh University Calendars, E Moberley Bell, Lutzker, and Sophia Jex-Blake's Medical Women

On 1st July 1869, the medical faculty recommended to the Senatus that "ladies be allowed to matriculate as medical students and to pass the usual preliminary examination for registration and that ladies be allowed to attend medical classes and to receive certificates of attendance qualifying for examination, provided that classes are confined entirely to ladies". (38) The Senatus, University Court and Chancellor of the university also approved the recommendation and in due course the Medical Regulations for women were published in the University Calendar in November 1869. (39) These regulations included a clause providing instruction of women for the 'profession of medicine' which was to become a significant phrase by the end of the campaign. It was a clear enough pronouncement of policy from the university bodies although it is true it did not mention the award of degrees and the classes were to be separate. Given the possible hostile reaction to Sophia's application this was a positive and hopeful step towards graduation. The sensitivity of the issue of women medicals in mixed classes pre-empted any move at this stage towards unrealistic demands. Anatomy classes and dissections were considered to be far too indelicate for ladies in mixed classes.

38. Moberley Bell. op. cit. page 71

39. E.U Calendar, 1869-70

The five lady medicals duly sat the matriculation examination, passed with flying colours and began the first phase of their medical course, the first women undergraduates in Scotland and Britain. They had, however, in the course of their admission discovered their main enemy to be Professor Robert Christison, an elderly conservative professor who was against change of any kind and who held a firm view that women were inferior creatures whose duties lay in home-making and whose image should be one of femininity and gentility. Christison was a powerful figure who served on all the university bodies (Faculty, Senatus, Court, Council and Infirmary Board) which could aid or hinder the cause.

Despite these grumblings of opposition Sophia Jex-Blake and her companions seemed to have gained a considerable foothold in the university, albeit in a separate sphere of instruction and paying double fees. From October 1869 to March 1870 the women medicals pursued their studies in relative calm.

The results of their endeavours, however, soon produced the second episode in the Jex-Blake battle. At the end of the winter session all the women did well in their examinations, probably contrary to male expectations that the women would fail and thus sever their connections with the university. In fact, Edith Pechey outshone them all in the Chemistry examination, coming first and entitled in

theory as best student to the Hope scholarship a prize which entitled the recipient to free admission to laboratories for research purposes. The endowment fund for this scholarship had ironically been derived from lectures given to ladies, 50 years before by the professor of Chemistry, Charles Hope.(40)

The Professor of Chemistry who had to decide on the award of the scholarship was Alexander Crum Brown. He had to decide on whether to offend other members of the Medical Faculty by offering it to a woman or to deny this award and outrage the women medicals. His decision was to award Edith Pechey a bronze medal but to give the Scholarship to the male student who had come second on the grounds that because the women had been taught separately they could not justifiably be considered full members of the Chemistry class. There was a further complication because having deprived Edith Pechey of her prize on the ground of not being a fully fledged class member, he also could not give the women medicals their certificates of attendance which were vital for sitting the degree examinations. An appeal was made which resulted in a Senatus decision to let them have their attendance certificates but Edith Pechey curiously was still not entitled to the Scholarship.

40. Charles Hope was Professor of Chemistry 1795-1844, Grant op. cit. p.398. See also page 14 of this chapter.

Reaction to the Senatus decision was widespread and became a matter of public concern. The injustice of the Senatus decision to deny the Hope Scholarship to Edith Pechey damaged considerably the university's reputation and this aroused in turn further hostility from within the university to the women despite increased public sympathy. The medical campaign now developed into a public battle with entrenchment on both sides.

Those against the women now came out into the open and put pressure on many of the Professors who had been teaching the women in separate classes as per the regulations of 1869. It became difficult to organise the separate classes as the level of cooperation declined. In April 1870, at a General Council meeting, there was an attempt to counter this when Professor Masson moved that instead of receiving separate instruction the women should be admitted to the Ordinary classes. He was seconded by another of the women's allies Professor Balfour. Even the support of the Dean of the Faculty was not enough. In a bitter debate which followed the vote was lost by 58 to 47. Professors Christison and Laycock were at the centre of the opposition.

The difficulty over teaching arrangements therefore became even more pressing as opposition and hostility to the women became more obvious. The solution adopted was to

approach the Edinburgh Extra-Mural School which gave medical lectures by qualified and authorised teachers other than university professors. Dr Alleyn Nicolson opened his class of zoology to the women in the summer of 1870. They were then admitted to the Anatomy and Surgery classes of Dr Handyside and Dr Heron Watson in October. These were two subjects vital to their medical course. Classes were mixed.

This Anatomy class was at the centre of the third episode in the Jex-Blake campaign. At Surgeon's Hall on the 18th November 1870, the women medicals arrived to sit an Anatomy examination and were greeted with uproar and opposition from a large crowd gathered outside. The women were pelted with mud, jostled, verbally abused and insulted. It took considerable courage for them to push a way through to gain admission to the examination hall. The noisy crowd continued their disturbance during the examination. There then occurred the now famous incident of a sheep being pushed into the hall and Professor Handyside's comment to 'let it alone as it had more sense than the ones who had sent it in'.⁽⁴¹⁾ The women medicals headed by the indomitable Sophia Jex-Blake opted to leave by the main door, rather than a back one and were safely escorted by some of the 'gentlemen' to whom Sophia had appealed. This incident has now become known as the Surgeons' Hall Riot.

41. Sophia Jex-Blake, op. cit. p93

There were several origins to the unrest from the male undergraduates. The main one was another related incident, namely the threatened exclusion of the women from clinical instruction at the Royal Infirmary. Prior to the riot, the Managers of the Royal Infirmary had voted for their admission. This was a decision which displeased Professor Christison, one of the Managers, who had not anticipated this decision in favour of the women. He therefore objected on the constitutional grounds that due notice of the application had not been given and the matter was postponed. This in effect prompted the involvement of the male undergraduates who saw their teachers quite clearly opposing the women medicals and some 500 male students duly petitioned the Managers against admitting the women medicals to clinical instruction in the wards which of course pleased the Christison camp. The impression was given, or at least inferred, that the male students were now free to oppose the presence of the women medicals. The women had started their classes in the Extra-Mural School at the beginning of October alongside those male students intent on serious study. Moberley Bell has suggested that the arrival of the less studious men one month later prompted an increase in student agitation.

(42) It was their participation which prompted the Riot of 18th November. The crowd present that day consisted of Extra Mural students, university students and a few street troublemakers. Sophia Jex-Blake related the opposition

42. Moberley Bell, op.cit. p 76

directly to the decision regarding their admission to the Royal Infirmary and the objection by Professor Christison which caused a postponement. Blame was placed not only on the students but on the university authorities whom it was suggested by Sophia Jex-Blake had provoked the students into action. She claimed that one Professor had incited his students with the comment that the women had not yet been 'pelted' out of the university.(43) Sophia also claimed that Professor Christison's assistant had been a ring-leader. This third episode then further heightened public debate about the medical women's campaign. Supported by the Scotsman and the Spectator, for example, Sophia and her followers had gained more public sympathy and outrage at their treatment. Others attacked the women claiming it was their own fault for attempting to study medicine in the first place and they should face the consequences.

The subject of the exclusion of the women from the Royal Infirmary arose again in January 1871 and this was the fourth episode which also aroused the public interest. This issue had, as has been noted above, been postponed from 1870 due to Christison's objections. The purpose of the meeting of subscribers on 16th January 1871 was to elect six new managers. Two sets of candidates were proposed. One set, proposed by Dr Halliday Douglas, President of the College of Physicians, included people

43. SJB. op.cit.,page 91-4

who were known to be against the women. The second list was proposed by the Lord Provost, Mr. Law and contained candidates favourable to the issue of admission to the Infirmary. A petition signed by 956 women in Edinburgh was sent to the managers. (44) Optimism surrounded the women's camp knowing that the Lord Provost himself was behind them. However, Sophia Jex-Blake misjudged the mood of the audience and made a mistake which cost them the vote. Sophia had subscribed £5 to the Infirmary to entitle her to the right to vote and to speak. Because of the two opposing viewpoints of the candidates the whole meeting revolved around the issue of the admission of women to clinical instruction. Sophia spoke out in support of the Lord Provost's candidates but she could not contain her argument for the medical education of women on a rational basis. She got carried away in the atmosphere and tension of the moment and argued her case in an over-emotional manner. She spoke of the riot and the supposed 'intoxication' of Christison's assistant:

44. *ibid.* p. 98

'....and at last came the day of that disgraceful riot, when the college gates were shut in our faces, and our little band bespattered with mud from head to foot....I will not say that the rioters were acting under order, but neither can I disbelieve what I was told by indignant gentlemen in the medical classes that this disagreeable scene would never have happened, had not it, and the petition got up at the same time, been needed as a weapon against our admission to the Infirmary. This I do know, that the riot was not wholly or mainly due to men from Surgeons' Hall. I know that Dr Christison's class assistant was one of the leaders of the riot, and that the foul language he used could only be explained on the supposition I heard asserted that he was intoxicated. I do not say that Dr Christison knew or sanctioned his presence; but I do say that I think he would not have been there had he believed it would be displeasing to the doctor that he should be so.' (45)

She did not retract this statement and it seemed that her emotional outburst had damaged their cause at least as far as the vote went. (46)

The last two episodes of the Sophia Jex-Blake story were focussed in the Law courts. Sophia's outburst at the managers' meeting prompted an action for defamation of character against her by Dr Christison's assistant, Edward Cunningham Craig. Lord Mure, the judge, was not a supporter of the women's cause and ruled in favour of the pursuer after a two day hearing on 30th and 31st May 1870. (47) Craig was awarded one farthing damages by the jury who were obviously more sympathetic to Sophia than Lord Mure. However a special certificate imposing legal

45. Report of Cases, 3rd Session vol ix July 20 1870 to July 30th 1870, pages 974-975

46. SJB, op. cit. p 101

47. Sophia had been wrong to refer to an individual and indeed to say that he was intoxicated. It was this point that lost her the case, not any legal point about the guilt of the assistant in inciting the riot.

costs of £915 was placed on Sophia. (48) This trial was the fifth episode in the medical battle.

Sophia, however, was not alone during the trial. Behind her she had the support of the newly formed "Committee for securing the Complete Medical Education to Women in Edinburgh". This committee was formed after the Managers' meeting in January 1871 in essence to review the situation of the women medicals. At last the women had allies beyond the few professors in the University and this support was now formed into an association with a strong public presence. Its Chairman was the Lord Provost of Edinburgh. It had five principle aims : firstly, to explore the difficulties of the medical women to distinguish those which were real and those which arose from prejudice; secondly to secure the admission of women to Edinburgh University on ordinary terms though not necessarily in mixed classes; thirdly to provide them with the means to obtain clinical hospital instruction; fourthly to provide help and finance to further teaching; fifth and lastly to give legal assistance. This last aim facilitated the payment of Sophia's trial costs after an invitation to supporters for subscriptions. This appeal was in fact over subscribed. (49)

48. The Judge, under Section 40 of the Court of Session act 1868 where defamation or libel were involved ,could waive the rule that in damages of less than £5 the pursuer could not claim legal costs.

49. Moberley Bell op. cit. p. 79

Membership of the Executive Committee was diverse and included municipal representatives, university professors, lecturers from the Extra-Mural School and some well known middle-class women in Edinburgh's social circle.(50) Miss Louisa Stevenson was its Honorary Secretary and administered the subscription list and petitions to Parliament. The subscribers included two Members of Parliament, Sir Robert Anstruther and Sir David Wedderburn, and the Editor of the Scotsman, Alexander Russel. Support was not confined to Edinburgh; Sophia's campaign numbered amongst its support, Frances Power Cobbe, Harriet Martineau, Henry Fawcett and his wife Millicent(Elizabeth Garrett's sister), Charles Darwin and the Right Hon Russell Gurney. These were all ardent campaigners for women's rights in their own right.

The new Session opened at Edinburgh in October 1871. There was an immediate threat to the right of admission to three new medical women recruits who were almost denied admission to the matriculation examination but for Sophia's threat of legal action. The instigator of this new attack was Alexander Grant , the principal, after representation from Professor Christison. (51) In addition the original five were due to sit their first professional examinations and they too came under threat.

50. Sophia Jex-Blake, op. cit.appendix 1a

51. Todd M., op. cit., p. 337

The original five women , however, had a problem with the ongoing progress of their studies. They could only take four or less classes at the Extra Mural School and the time had come when they needed more University courses and clinical instruction. These were the courses which some Professors refused to teach to the women, and in particular, Christison's materia medica class. This was the background to the sixth and last episode in the medical women's campaign in Edinburgh when an Action of Declarator was raised, a means of seeking a legal decision on the right of women to study medicine and to graduate. Graduation in fact now became the central issue.

One or two events happened prior to the final legal battle. Dr Alexander Wood raised a motion at the meeting of the General Council in October 1871 "that the University is bound in honour and justice to render it possible for those women who have already commenced their studies to complete them." (52) In other words at the very least the University should honour its commitment to the five lady medical students. A memorial in favour of this was signed by some 9000 women. (53) Wood lost his motion by a small margin but an amendment transferred the decision to the Senatus and University Court. Public interest mounted and so did the pressure placed on the Senatus and Court. The committee offered to pay the costs of accommodation and various options were mooted about the

52. Moberley Bell op.cit. p. 80

53. Sophia Jex-Blake, op. cit. pages 118-119

arrangement of special lecturers or to relax the rules to allow the women to take more than the four Extra Mural classes. The national press mounted a campaign against the injustices being perpetuated by the University. Moberley Bell, in his account, quoted a statement from the Daily Review which summed up the real fears of the Medical Faculty and is re-stated below:

'There is no objection to women studying medicine and science in the University as long as the only result of their doing so is the pocketing of fees on the part of the professors. But when, by graduating and qualifying for the practice of their profession, there is the possible result of the ladies pocketing fees themselves, which at present must go into the pocket of medical professors, then there is the greatest possible objection to their studying. Here we have a University professor unblushingly placing against the settlement of a great public question, the pecuniary interests of certain professional men. And yet these men would shake their heads and prate of the necessity of stamping out Trades Unionism.' (54)

On October 30th 1871, the Senatus decided by 14 to 13 against helping the women to complete their studies and recommended the same to the University Court, that is "that existing regulations in favour of female students be rescinded". (55) After an outcry from some of the professors including Professor Masson, the Court rejected the Senatus recommendation in December 1871. (56) Grant and Christison had voted in its favour.

54. Moberley Bell, op. cit., page 80-1 (December 23 1871)

55. ibid.

56. This appeal provoked a further controversy in connection with the ELEA's position regarding the university. An account of this is outlined in a later section pages 76-81.

The Committee supporting the medical women realised that the position of women within the university was at this point static, if not deteriorating. They took further steps in the form of legal opinion from the Lord Advocate and Sheriff Fraser and they concluded that the women were entitled to ask that they be allowed to continue their medical education. The Committee then issued an ultimatum that if their request for further classes and graduation for women was not met then they would raise an Action of Declarator. The University Court tried to negotiate a compromise (8th January 1872) over the main point of contention, namely their right to sit the professional examination and to graduate. The proposal was that the women should pursue their studies and receive a 'certificate of proficiency' instead of the professional qualification of a degree. (57) If the women had accepted this they would not have been entitled to practice so the situation was dead-locked. The idea for certificates possibly came from proposals to start a certificate in the ELEA. Also the University of London had admitted some women as students(unmatriculated) and offered certificates of proficiency.

Legal action therefore was the final step for Sophia Jex-Blake in March 1872 and the Committee undertook to commence proceedings. On 27th March 1872, some Professors proposed no opposition to the conclusions of the action

57. Sophia Jex-Blake op.cit. pages 136-8

and disclaimed any responsibility for the defence lodged in the name of the Senatus. These were John Hughes Bennett MD, Professor in the Institute of Medicine, David Masson, Henry Calderwood, Professor of Moral Philosophy, Archibald H Charteris, Professor of Biblical Criticism, James Lorimer, Professor of Public Law and William Ballantine Hodgson, Professor of Political Economy. It is notable that there were few medical representatives in this opposition cohort. (58)

On 26th July, 1872 Lord Gifford pronounced his judgement in favour of the women. They were entitled under the 1869 Regulations to finish their course of instruction and to graduate. (59) The medical women rejoiced in their victory albeit aware that there was an appeal against the decision by the Senatus. They continued their studies in hopeful anticipation of sitting their finals. Even the problem of admission to the hospital for clinical instruction was removed in late 1872. There had been further delays to this after the Managers' resolution to admit them was challenged by a petition from some of the male students and a question about the legality and validity of some of the votes. However the women did eventually receive some clinical instruction.

58. *ibid.* p 147-153

59. Report of Cases 3rd Series vols x and xi.

The hopes of the medical women were spurned when much to their surprise, the Senatus appeal to the Inner House of the Court of Session produced a judgement against them in June 1873. (60) The ruling was that the Senatus decision to admit women to matriculation in 1869 had been 'ultra vires' and that this illegality meant the university had no responsibility to the women. Further injustice came when the women were instructed to pay the costs of both actions, despite the fact that it was the Senatus who had been judged to have acted illegally in 1869 when it had drawn up the medical regulations. The real injustice for the women was the university's ambiguous attitude. They had been allowed to matriculate and attend classes and had paid double fees for the privilege but it had all come to nothing. The women sat their final class examinations with no hope of graduating from Edinburgh. For Sophia Jex-Blake her misery was compounded by her failure to pass the examinations in the autumn of 1872. It was hardly surprising given the amount of time and energy she had given to the episodes of struggle and hostility outlined above. (61) In her bitterness she believed that her failure had been a deliberate ploy by the examiners.

The Committee for medical women paid the legal costs but decided against taking the matter higher to the House of Lords. Great expense and the further delay of an appeal was predicted.

60. *ibid.*

61. Todd, M., *op. cit.*, pages 382-384

Even if this appeal was favourable a new battle would have to begin to win over Edinburgh University or anywhere else. Therefore the women gave up and the arena shifted to parliamentary moves furth of Scotland. Sophia's view at this time can be summed up from a comment in some of her writings:

'When we came in contact with such unexpected depths of moral grossness and brutality, we had burnt into our minds the strongest possible conviction that if such things were possible in the medical profession, women must, at any cost, force their way into it, for the sake of their sisters, who might otherwise be left at the mercy of such human brutes as these." (62)

The battle against Edinburgh University was over but it had done some good in persuading public opinion to support their cause. However if anything, Sophia Jex-Blake's frontal attack on the University may well have jeopardised her own ambitions in that her personality occasionally was too direct, too impatient and headstrong. Elizabeth Garrett was appalled that Sophia had been outspoken enough at the Managers' meeting to have a libel case against her. On the other hand, the problems were so great and opposition so entrenched that only someone with Sophia Jex-Blakes determination could have achieved what the women did in the way of medical education. Yet in terms of general higher education for women no long term damage was done.

62.Sophia Jex-Blake, op. cit. p. 161

The Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association

In contrast then to this highly public and controversial campaign of the medical women was the formation of the Edinburgh Ladies Educational Association in 1867. Its early years of development coincided with the medical women's dispute but ran a separate albeit parallel path. The history of its activities as an educational association and its development into the most successful voice and example of the higher education of women in Scotland in the 1870s reveals the hard work and efforts of its pioneer leaders. Its influence was wide and its very success a prime example of the argument for opening the Scottish Universities to women. Its history can be told largely due to the wealth of manuscript material which has survived to the present day. (63)

The history of the Association can be divided into two periods and within each period certain key themes emerge. The first period, from its foundation in 1867 to its recognition by Edinburgh University in 1872 reveals the extent of the campaign by a group of women and Professors to found and establish a regular systematic lecture scheme for women. In this period the personalities who would lead

63. Held in the Manuscripts room, Edinburgh University. (ref. Gen 1877). Only two brief histories of the Association are available: E Boog Watson, The Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women 1867-1967 (c.1967, privately printed) and Burton, Mrs, A Memoir of Mrs Crudelius. (1879, Edinburgh)

the Association were revealed, its organisation established, its aims publicised, official recognition sought and eventually received. The second period covers the years from 1874 to 1892 when consolidation was the main theme. It is the aim of the following section to look closely at these two periods of the ELEA and to examine in detail some of these emergent themes and indeed to outline some of the problems which arose along the way .

It is quite evident that the success of the women's movement in the second half of the nineteenth century was dependent on strong personalities who would be able to withstand dissent and have conviction and purpose to their ideas and actions. One such person was Mrs Mary Crudelius.

(64) Despite ailing health she dominated the early proceedings of the ELEA . It was at her instigation that the ELEA should be formed. (65) Certainly she was present at the first recorded meeting of the Association in Mrs Daniell's house, 1 Inverleith Terrace. Mrs Daniell was another important figure whose name will recur in the following narrative. Those present on the 15th of October 1867 were Mrs Mair and her daughter Sarah who were active in the Edinburgh Essay Society, Mrs Lindsay, Mrs De Lacy Evans, Mrs Ranken, Mrs Daniell and Mrs Crudelius.

64. Mrs Mary Crudelius , nee MacLean was born 23/2/1839 , daughter of Dumfriesshire parents. Her father was a merchant. Educated at Miss Turnbull's Boarding School for Young Ladies and married, aged 22, Rudolph Crudelius a merchant in 1861.

65. See page 26.



The organisational structure of the Association was the main focus of this first meeting and three subsequent meetings on 29th October, 14th November and 11th December. It was proposed to issue 100 copies of a Prospectus outlining the aim of the Association which was to commence a lecture series of university standard. Membership was open to ladies but men could only be honorary members. Prospective students of the lectures however did not have to be members. A subscription was to be levied of 2/6d but this was later increased to 5/-. They aimed to canvas support by seeing as many influential people as possible and 'gentlemen of standing'. These 'gentlemen', who later became honorary members, were listed in the First Prospectus and included a list of some very notable and eminent people in law, the ministry, medicine, the university and schools. The Principal of Edinburgh University, Sir David Brewster, headed the list. Among his colleagues were Professors Lyon Playfair (Chemistry), Alexander Campbell Fraser (Logic), David Masson (Rhetoric and English Literature), John Stuart Blackie (Greek), Thomas Laycock (Practice of Physic) and the Rev Dr Robert Lee (Biblical Criticism). Simon S Laurie the well known educationalist was also listed. (66) The women also relied heavily in the early days on the advice of Dr Arthur Mitchell, a neighbour of Mrs Crudelius, Professor Masson and Simon S Laurie, although they did not attend any of the meetings.

66. Burton, op. cit., page 23

Simon S Laurie was the first holder of the Bell Chair of Education at Edinburgh in 1876.

The second meeting on 29th October saw the appointment of the first officebearers and here the first problem arose. Victorian respectability did not countenance officeholding or public activities and this prompted a certain reticence or as Mrs Burton described it :

"feminine objection to any employment or office involving even the appearance of publicity. "(67)

There were only eighteen ladies at the second meeting so the number of candidates was also limited. The first honorary president was Lady Dunfermline. Mrs Mair was Vice President but only "pro tem ". Miss Blyth was appointed the second VP but did not want direct work or responsibility. Mrs Ranken and Mrs Crudelius took on the job of joint secretaries. This was the initial committee but changes did take place over the next two years before settling down to a more regular group of committee members. (68)

Another problem to contend with was the timing of the first lecture series. Mrs Crudelius learned that under the auspices of the Franchise Association for women in Edinburgh, a group in which Mrs Crudelius was involved, there was a proposal for lectures to be given by Professor Masson. She feared that her own scheme would flounder if the Franchise Association pre-empted her ideas and attempts were made to unite the two, at least in terms of the lecture scheme.

67. *ibid.*, page 75

68. Gen 1877/1 ELEA Annual Reports.

Writing to Miss McLaren, the Secretary of the Franchise Association, Mrs Crudelius noted:

'At this time the 'women's question' is seething and working so much in the public mind, that within the next few years we may expect many important and almost vital changes' (69)

She believed, however, that there should be one group for political reform and one for higher education and thus a lecture series would be better under the ELEA's banner. She also noted to Miss McLaren that she had been one of the first 1500 women who sent a petition to Parliament thus not denying her own support for the franchise cause. Mrs Crudelius' wish to safeguard her own lecture series succeeded when the proposed Franchise Association lectures were transferred to the ELEA and the ELEA's series was brought forward to January 1868. (70) There seems to have been some concern on Mrs Crudelius' behalf about why Professor Masson had not been available to lecture to the ELEA in 1868 but had been ready to do so to the Franchise Association but this misunderstanding was resolved.

These then were early teething troubles and the First Prospectus was successfully issued. The women of the ELEA and Mrs Crudelius in particular were quite clear about

69. Burton, op. cit. page 26

70. ibid., pages 38-9

their organisation and aims:

'Notwithstanding the numerous educational appliances existing in Edinburgh, young ladies who have completed the usual curriculum of private schools have no way of obtaining the higher education in science, philosophy, and literature, which our Universities offer to young men. This Association has been organised to supply that want, and to furnish to ladies, after leaving school, advanced instruction in the Physical and Natural Sciences, Mental Philosophy, Literature, History, Languages etc." (71)

Even more specifically they spelt out their aim :

"It is not the aim of the Association to train for professions...but its promoters desire in the education of women to give them the advantages of a system acknowledged to be well suited for the mental training of the other sex." (72)

The medical women's campaign was only beginning in Edinburgh but the ELEA was defining already in its overall aim its separation from the likes of the medical campaign because it implied professional practice. In addition there was also the more general view that women in the professions would defeminize them. (73) In essence the aim of the Association was to run a series of lectures as close as possible to the curricula of the Arts faculty and to the same university standard.

71. Gen1877/1, ELEA Annual Reports & Prospectus 1868-1879

72. *ibid.*

73. TNAPSS meeting, Edinburgh 1863. See page 22

If Mrs Crudelius was the guiding light of the ELEA in its formative years , then Professor David Masson was its closest ally and its most articulate supporter from within the University. An Aberdonian and graduate of Aberdeen University, he had spent some of his early life as a writer and Editor for various publishing companies and periodicals in Edinburgh and London. Through this varied work he came to know many of the familiar philosophical and political figures in the intellectual circles of the 1840s and 1850s including JS Mill and Carlyle. He was appointed to the Chair of English Literature at University College, London in 1853. In 1859 Masson became the first Editor of the new MacMillan Magazine. He also briefly in 1863 started editing another new London weekly, The Reader. He thus had a wide experience beyond the academic circle which gave him a wider insight into contemporary issues. His own wife, Rosaline Orme had been one of the early Bedford College students so the higher education of women was familiar to him. (74)

In 1865 Masson was appointed Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric at Edinburgh University leaving behind the editorial work to concentrate on his academic affairs. His arrival in Edinburgh coincided with the raising of the women's education issue. He became and remained a staunch supporter of the women's movement.

74. Masson, Flora, 'David Masson', UEJ, 1929-30, Vol 3, pages 15-24 ; Masson, Flora , Victorians All (1931)

Masson's opening lecture on 16th January 1868, held in the Hopetoun Rooms, Shandwick Place, was a resounding success. Four to five hundred ladies attended and 250 enrolled for the course of lectures on the History of English Literature. (some of these may have been Franchise Association women). In his introductory lecture he took the opportunity to remind his audience of the need to provide a higher level of education for women :

"until this is done, we persevere in the guilt of a great injustice and we dawdle on as a nation at but half our possible nobleness and strength.....it is my distinct opinion that the full and perfect solution of the question of the increase of opportunities for the higher education of women is to be found in nothing short of this - the throwing open of our existing Universities, and all similar institutions equally to both sexes, under such arrangements as it would be easy to devise for the purpose." (75)

Professor Masson was thus a welcome champion of the women's cause prepared to speak out for what he believed to be a serious deficiency in the Scottish educational system. He told his audience that had the ELEA not started he would have decided to do something himself. Thus the first lecture series was duly launched.

In the First Annual Report, published at the end of October 1868, it was noted that the Association had 160 members and 265 women were attending the lectures. At least half of the membership were honorary members, these eminent gentlemen already mentioned who lent their names

75. Gen1877/14 Miscellaneous Correspondence Reprint from the Scotsman, 17/1/1868

and support to the Association. Many of the women who joined were also ladies of some standing ; for example, the Dundas family of Arniston was closely connected as were others like the Trotters and the Haldanes.

The students were a diverse group. Some of the members of course were enrolled students as well. The class registers reveal in the first year that the 265 enrolled students excluded others who had dropped out along the way. (76) Members of the executive committee attended frequently as did other Association members. Professors wives and daughters also attended - a prime example being Mrs Masson and her three daughters, Christine, Helen and Flora. Some of the Professors wives may well have been attending to convey an air of respectability by acting as chaperones. There were quite a few mother and daughter groups attending the classes including Mrs McLaren of Newington House and her daughters Agnes and Helen. Other student members were the Stevenson sisters, Eliza, Louisa and Flora whose names were to be closely linked with women's education and education in general. Miss Guthrie Wright, later to found the Edinburgh School of Cookery was also an early student. The class register also contains other names of interest including Mrs Lumsden and her daughter Louisa (77), Sophia Jex-Blake, Elizabeth Garrett, Edith Pechey, and Elsie Inglis. (78)

76. Gen1877/2 Class Registers 1867-73, vol 1 & 2

77. *ibid.* See also Louisa Lumsden, Yellow Leaves (1933)

78. Elsie Inglis was to become one of the most famous Scottish woman doctors through her work in Serbia during the First World War for the Scottish Women's Hospitals.

Many of the ELEA's students went on to become members who played a significant role in the Association - Louisa Stevenson, Margaret Houldsworth, Sarah Mair, Miss Anne Dundas and Miss Elizabeth Hamilton to name a few.

The average age of the students in the first year was 22 to 35 years but the whole group ranged from 16 to 60 years. One student Louise Kathleen Trotter recalling her own student days at the ELEA in the 1880s commented on the audience at Professor Campbell Frasers lectures :

"I can only remember three or four contemporaries of my own among them - they seem mainly to have been middle-aged spinster ladies. I think there was a disproportionate number of these in Edinburgh at that time." (79)

It is difficult to assess how true this was for the mid 1880s but certainly from the above statistics from the ELEA Report it would seem that in the early days at least there was some element of truth about the mixed age group.

The students' academic performance however was more important than age range. This varied as did the pattern of attendance. Professor Masson in his first report categorised his class in four graded groups. Firstly there were those women who only came to listen to the lectures , and then there were those students who took notes. Thirdly there were students who attended class and took notes but also studied at home. The last group were those who did

79. Haldane, L. K., Friends and Kindred, (1961) page 110
Louisa Kathleen Trotter married John Scott Haldane and was the mother of J B S Haldane and Naomi Mitchison. She attended ELEA classes in 1882, 1884 and 1886 and received an Ordinary Certificate in 1886.

all of this, handed in the set essays and sat the examination. His assessment in the First Annual report was as follows:

'I found ample reason to conclude that as regards my own set of subjects at least, there are in the community a sufficient number of ladies perfectly well prepared, by prior culture, by interest in the higher studies, by already formed habits of thought and by persevering willingness, to take advantages of the most highly organised means of instruction accessible anywhere within the country.' (80)

This was backed up by Dr Nicholson who also read the examination scripts. To him the women wrote in a fashion 'more succinct and to the point, with less verbosity and long windedness, for the mere display of knowledge or clouding of ignorance and also, in the best of them by more entire freedom from confusion or error.' (81) Ninety-four of the 265 enrolled students sat the end of session examination. The reason why so few sat the examination was explained in the Report by the 'customary departure of families from town' at the time of the examination. Perhaps also many of the students may not have felt adequately prepared to cope with the examination and meeting the required standard. Parental views on the possible stress to their daughters of examinations may also have contributed to fewer examinees. Some daughters were also under certain pressures about their attendance

80. Burton, op. cit, page 83

81. ibid.

at the classes. From Miss Charlotte Carmichael came this letter:

'My Dear Miss Hamilton,
I am enduring a great disappointment under circumstances which the other members of our family think most delightful - that is, I am, I may call it, sent to Brighton much against my will. Now I cannot possibly be back until after Christmas, if even then - and so I must give up all idea of attending the classes this winter, which fact mamma thinks the best part of the arrangement.....' (82)

and writing from Brighton to Mrs Crudelius she said that had she been at home she would have taken some of Professor Kelland's classes.:

"I rather think that was the reason mamma was so glad to (have) (me) sent away here, out of the way of such work because I do not feel very strong this year and my head is far from clear....I find that it may be a longer time than expected before I can return. I do not even profess to enjoy the gaieties of the place..." (83)

The number of subjects offered to students soon expanded. As early as February 1868, Mrs Crudelius had been writing to Professor Masson regarding the expansion of classes but they were wary of taking on too much. Their idea was to develop the curriculum over several years. Amongst the new subjects they proposed to introduce were Logic, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry or Natural History wishing to avoid in Mrs Crudelius' words anything "too flashy" (84). Professorial support was already indicated for these proposed subjects from Professors Fraser (Logic), Tait, (Natural Philosophy) and Lyon Playfair (Chemistry).

82. Gen1877/14 ELEA Miscellaneous correspondence

83. *ibid.*

84. *ibid.*

Their support and participation in the ELEA lecture scheme would said Professor Masson be a 'powerful acquisition' to their cause. In fact the Second Prospectus offered English Literature, Natural Philosophy and Logic. The total number of students rose to 335 as indicated in table 1.1 below. Mathematics and Botany were added in the following two sessions. Botany was dropped for reasons outlined below and not reintroduced until 1880-1. (85) Moral Philosophy, Latin, Geology and Chemistry had all been introduced by 1875. As can be seen in Table 1.1, Biblical Criticism accounted for an upsurge in student figures in session 1873-4 but this was after some long deliberation on the part of the executive committee about the advisability of introducing a subject which was not included in the university Arts curriculum. (86) The request for a course in Biblical Criticism had come from the ladies themselves. Mrs Crudelius feared the introduction of non Arts subjects would open the doors to any subject and thus dilute the overall aim of providing a systematic Arts curricula in the first instance but in the event when over 50 women requested it, the course was given by Professor Charteris. In fact the attendance figures at this lecture series were of overall benefit to the Association but the class did not become a regular feature. In general some allowance seems to have been made for those taking more than one class. Not all students attended throughout the session.

85. See also Table 1.2, page 1.2

86. Gen1877/14 Miscellaneous correspondence and
Gen1877/5 Minute Book of the ELEA General meetings.

Table 1.1 Attendance at the ELEA 1867-1877

subject	session										
	1867 -68	1868 -69	1869 -70	1870 -71	1871 -72	1872 -73	1873 -74	1874 -75	1875 -76	1876 -77	1877 -78
Eng Lit	265	129	141	84	64	55	78	67	93	71	97
Nat Phil		141	72	70	43						76
Logic & mental		65	44	49	52	35		25	20		
Maths			35	17		17		17		10	7
Moral Phil					45	30	29	29	19	46	37
Greek									18		10
Latin						18	9	16	5	8	13
Chemistry							35				
Geology						64	43				
Physiology									97		
Zoology										19	26
Economic Science										34	
Theory of Education										25	14
Biblical Criticism							141	85			
Botany			28	19							
Fine Art											
Music											
Total	265	335	320	239	204	219	335	239	252	213	280

(Source: ELEA Annual Reports (Gen 1877/1))

All the lectures were given by Edinburgh University Professors so there was no dilution of the teaching standards by introducing any extra-mural teachers. The academic atmosphere was also perpetuated by the fact that the Professors wore their academic gowns during lectures.

The ELEA : some incidents and controversies

The ELEA as it developed in the early years took great care to present an image of respectability to the outside world. This was an image which was lady-like, circumspect and proper, encompassing correct procedures in its organisation and proper conduct by its students. At the same time it aimed to educate beyond the more normal standard female accomplishments which acted directly against the feminine image by teaching male dominated subjects like Latin and Greek. The consequences of the introduction of a Botany class in session 1869-70 was one such example of the ELEA's concern with its public image. This raised some controversy on two accounts. The first of these concerned the inclusion of the subject in the ELEA curricula as an Arts subject. Professor John Hutton Balfour, the professor of Botany was at the centre of events. He had advertised a course of lectures for ladies to accommodate the five lady medical students who had been denied Botany lectures in a mixed class. The Association then took the lecture course under its wing. The lectures were again to be of university standard and Professor Balfour would receive a larger proportion of the 3 guinea fee.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Some doubt was expressed about the validity of the classes being run if they were to be given on university premises as women would have had to matriculate. However this does not seem to have been taken any further than a mild query on the

87. This was double the ELEA rate.

part of the women. Unfortunately for the lady medicals the hour fixed for the class clashed with their hospital work but Sophia Jex Blake begged that no change be made on their account. She argued in fact that if the lectures were quite independent of the lady medicals then there would be less hostility or controversy. Twenty-eight women were enrolled as members of Professor Balfour's class.

The second part to the Botany controversy provoked a more serious problem for the ELEA when Professor Balfour took his Association students on an expedition with his men students in May 1870. Mrs Ranken, then acting Secretary, wrote to Professor Balfour expressing regret at the outing which she felt would injure the interests of the Association in the eyes of those who were opposed to mixed classes of any kind and also expressed regret if any further mixed expeditions were planned. This letter was read out to Balfour's students and received an indignant response upon which Professor Balfour wrote a curt reply.

(88)

The controversy, however, was not focussed on the possible public damage of holding a mixed class but on the internal running of the ELEA and on a procedural dispute about the actions of the Acting Secretary, Mrs Ranken,

88. Gen 1877/14 Professor Balfour correspondence and special Minute Book.

who had written to Professor Balfour without consulting the Committee. There was even a Special Minute Book to record the series of meetings held to discuss this issue. At a meeting on 8th June 1870 at 19 Royal Circus, home of Madame Kunz, the committee - Mrs Hill Burton, Miss Blyth, Madame Kunz, Miss Dick Lauder and Mrs Ranken - met to discuss events. Mrs Ranken acknowledged her error to act without consulting her colleagues and apologised. There was no dispute about her message to Professor Balfour and the committee fully endorsed her view but she made a mistake in not consulting the committee. Mrs Ranken intimated that she would have called a meeting if the excursions had continued. The conclusion of the committee was that Professor Balfour's excursion was in fact outside their jurisdiction. Two days later another meeting was held to consider further this decision. Mrs Ranken called this on the advice of Mrs Crudelius. However, present at the meeting was Mr Coldstream WS, the Association's solicitor. This raised further controversy about the rights of a non-Executive member of the ELEA to attend a committee meeting and in fact a by-law was later introduced to prevent it recurring. Mrs Ranken in effect had been censured by the Committee for her actions but it was felt necessary to do this as there was a risk that the ELEA members themselves would have reprimanded the committee for not carrying out the correct procedure. The memory of these events lingered on for some time as Miss

Dick Lauder recalled in November 1870:

"In any executive meeting I have attended we ladies were quite capable of transacting all the business before us without the help of a lawyer." (89)

There was a certain degree of over-reaction to this procedural wrangle but the women were very sensitive almost to a fault of always carrying out the business of the ELEA in the correct manner. The minutes of the special meetings recording this episode noted that Mrs Ranken wrote a note of apology to Professor Balfour. The class was reintroduced in the following session but only 19 women signed up for it and it was not repeated until session 1880-1. (90)

At the same time as the Botany episode, another issue arose to which the members of the Committee directed much of their thoughts and time. This was the possible connection with the Watt Institute in the city where the School of Arts opened its classes to women in 1870. The question arose of whether the ELEA should support this new venture. They had insufficient funds to offer direct financial help but the committee circulated members to subscribe to a fund to send 'deserving girls' to the classes. The classes at the Watt Institute were mixed and in principle the ELEA was against this. A Sub-committee was appointed to look into the whole question. It is at this point that committee attitudes become quite clear. There was deep discussion about what type of girl should

89. Gen 1877/14 Letter to Mrs Crudelius 7/11/1870

90. Mrs Ranken resigned at the end of 1870 due to private reasons but the issues of the botany class may well have contributed to her standing down.

attend which concluded that those earning their own livelihood with high morals and intellectual worth should be considered.

They were to be "staid in their dress and manners as in this experiment of mixed classes it is necessary to be careful whom we introduce into the school". (91) Madame Froebel was quite specific about the "evils" of mixed classes and felt it might be better to provide funds for gentlewomen in poor circumstances to take Association classes. To another member of the sub-committee, Mrs Burton, mixed classes would encourage liaisons and Miss Dundas agreed with her describing the "use of the class as a cloak for appointments". (92) Mrs Ranken who had not resigned at this point was "stongly opposed to mixed classes in any grade of society".(93) Many members corresponded with the sub-committee in a similar vein.

The Secretary of the Watt Institute reported in December 1870 to the ELEA that 70 women were students. Of these 37 had no occupation. 27 were teachers or pupil teachers, 3 were students, 2 were domestic servants and one was a private student. It is interesting to note that there were other women in Edinburgh receiving some form of higher education, however elementary, at the the same time as the ELEA courses. It is not clear from the manuscript material

91. Gen 1877/14 Mrs Burton to Mrs Crudelius 31/3/1870

92. Gen 1877/5 13/4/1870, General Minute Book

93. *ibid.*

how many girls were eventually helped by the Association, if any, but the intention had been to allow each applicant to attend one class (5/- for a ticket) under the auspices of the ELEA. (94) Books would be bought for them but returned to the ELEA.

It is evident that the sub-committee looking into this were reluctant to get too involved in other lecture schemes when their own was still in its infancy. As an offshoot of this discussion Miss Dundas put forward several proposals at a committee meeting on May 4th 1870 concerning the question of bursary type assistance to girls of the lower classes. She proposed firstly to raise funds by private subscription to extend the benefits of the ELEA classes to all those unable to pay fees; secondly to allot free class tickets and to have no restriction on social position. The free tickets would be based on the preliminary exam results and would be limited to Mathematics and Logic. The first clause was unanimously agreed but some reservations were expressed over whether this type of bursary award would be considered as 'charity'. By November 1870 the Minutes recorded that this attempt to raise funds had not been successful but no details or reasons were given. (95) The same lack of response could well have applied to the funding of a bursary for the Watt Institute.

94. Gen 1877/14 Correspondence 7/12/1870

95. Gen 1877/5, Minute Book, 3/11/1870

Sophia Jex-Blake and the ELEA

The name of Sophia Jex-Blake has already been mentioned in connection with the ELEA. In fact she was frequently at the centre of the ELEA's procedural wrangles at this time. One of the episodes which arose concerned the possibility of rotating the lectures instead of a fixed curriculum. Personalities and procedural manoeuvres again dominated the events during the months of February and March 1871. Again procedural accuracy seems to have taken over from the main issues of the debate.

Miss Blyth put forward a proposal to rotate the classes on the grounds of the lack of teachers attending the classes and because of the lack of bursary funds. She hoped that rotation of classes would encourage new recruits. Mrs Crudelius opposed this on the grounds that rotation would be too radical and unacademic and that the present system was already successful. Into the arena came Sophia Jex-Blake, proposing an amendment at the 25th February meeting that classes no longer should be fixed arbitrarily beforehand but that two weeks prior to the winter session a list of proposed classes should be posted and intending pupils could add their name. Now Sophia Jex-Blake had not given any notice of her amendment and this was raised as a point of order. Mrs Crudelius wanted a vote on her original motion and the amendment by Miss Blyth to rotate the classes. Miss Hamilton moved for an adjournment and a Miss Dunlop called on the chair to decide. Members were

then asked to vote on whether the Jex-Blake amendment should be considered and the majority voted against this. Jex-Blake protested that this was contrary to public meeting practice. (96) A vote on the original motion was carried by 17 votes to 3 in Mrs Crudelius' favour. Jex-Blake reserved the right to bring forward the vote again. It was found out after the meeting however that in fact the wrong procedure had been used in refusing to allow a vote on an amendment arising out of discussion and acknowledgement and regret was duly expressed to Jex-Blake on 16th February 1871. It was in fact Sophia who had informed the committee of their error ; she had consulted Mr McLaren MP and had learned that in the House of Commons any number of amendments could be proposed without notice. The concern of Sophia had been to avoid any repetition of the wrong procedure. On the 20th of February she again wrote to Miss Hamilton thanking her and Miss Dundas for their votes and said that no official apology was necessary regarding the business etiquette. One month later she received another letter from the ELEA saying that the members of the Executive had gone beyond their duty in offering her an official apology . She had in fact received a private opinion from Miss Dundas and Miss Hamilton. She was quite happy to accept this but felt that a full account should be recorded in the minutes because the members all seemed 'hopelessly ignorant'. (97)

96. Gen 1877/5 Minutes ELEA 15/12/1871

97. Gen 1877/14 Letter to Miss Hamilton from SJB 17/3/1871

Writing again to the ELEA on the 27th of March , Sophia concluded:

'I hope the Association while learning and practising all orderly ways will not get too much tied and bound with red tape.' (98)

At the general meeting of the ELEA on 5th April 1871 the final scene was enacted regarding this episode. All amendments were to be written and read through the chair. It is certainly the case that the ELEA was very concerned about conducting its affairs in the correct procedural way and indeed as Sophia Jex-Blake pointed out this may well have overtaken its meetings on several occasions as indicated from the episode above. It was a reflection of the need to present the ELEA as an efficient properly run organisation which would merit public attention and stand equal to any organisation in the male dominated educational sphere which precipitated this over-concern with procedural business. However it is also true that someone like the outspoken and energetic Jex-Blake would arouse a mild level of antagonism which might have aggravated the situation.

Sophia Jex-Blake continued to agitate and be impatient of the workings of the ELEA. She was still making her presence felt in October 1871 when a Miss Archer wrote

98. *ibid.*, letter to Miss Hamilton 27/3/1871

from Berlin to become an Honorary member. The Association could not decide how to class this new member. As an Honorary member she could not vote. Sophia Jex-Blake thought she should be allowed a vote as an Honorary member but the vote went against this and it was decided to ask Miss Archer to correspond as an Honorary member. Sophia Jex-Blake thought it an insult to ask her to be a corresponding member but disallow her a vote. At this same meeting she raised the question of setting up a Chemistry class but the Prospectus had already been issued so it was too late to consider this. The next mention of Sophia in the Minutes is in April 1873 when she tried to get a Natural History class set up, offering 100 guineas from the lady medical students and the same for Botany.

In October 1873 Sophia Jex-Blake prompted yet another constitutional crisis over the re-nomination of the ELEA secretaryship. Mrs Crudelius' recurring illness had necessitated that she stand down as secretary and during 1870 Miss Dundas and Miss Hamilton were put forward as secretaries 'pro tem.' and according to the Minutes of the General Meeting this was at the suggestion of Sophia Jex-Blake. (99)

99. Gen 1877/5 Minutes ELEA 15/2/1871

Mrs Crudelius remained on the Executive committee but without a vote. The Secretaries remained on the committee acting on Mrs Crudelius' behalf throughout the remainder of session 1870-1 and 1871-2 but their term of office was up in October 1873. Several nominations were put forward but Miss Dundas and Miss Hamilton were re-selected. Sophia Jex Blake complained that the Executive committee had nominated collectively a candidate for their own body. A special meeting was called on 5th November to discuss the claim by Sophia Jex-Blake that the reselection was out of order. The committee then carefully consulted the legal opinions of Simon S Laurie, W Dundas, Dr Arthur Mitchell and Dr Smith. The Minutes themselves suggest a fair degree of tension with numerous corrections and one page being scored out. Jex-Blake put forward a further amendment:

'That it shall be sufficient for members to give notice of motions or nominations one week before each general meeting, and that the secretary shall regard all such actions as confidential until they are communicated simultaneously to all the members of the General Committee.' (100)

Mrs Crudelius moved that 'the business of the Association be conducted as it has been hitherto' and Miss Blyth that longer time should be given for nominations but confidentiality should always stand. Mrs Crudelius felt that the confidentiality clause was too radical a change in procedure and in the end she won the day.

100. Gen1877/5 Special meeting over SJB dispute Minutes
ELEA 8/11/1873

Perhaps this was not a major point of the ELEA's business but nonetheless this last episode with Sophia Jex-Blake revealed the pressures placed on Mrs Crudelius to maintain the status quo and to retain her own hold on the Association. She had been the main instigator of the ELEA's organisation and she wished to maintain her own ideals within the association's framework. Therefore this may well have provoked clashes of opinion with Sophia Jex-Blake and Miss Blyth. Mrs Crudelius was described by Mrs Burton as the 'soul and strength' of the ELEA but this may also have made her dogmatic and too intense. Mrs Burton also used the phrase 'enthusiastic despot' to describe her. (101) As the ELEA developed new ideas and new personalities emerged, it was inevitable that they would pose a threat to Mrs Crudelius' position, especially when ill-health prevented her full participation. (102)

Although the medical campaign was seen as a separate sphere of activity, it is quite clear that the involvement of Sophia Jex-Blake in the ELEA was very significant. As an ardent campaigner for women's education membership of the ELEA would have attracted her. She had many personal contacts with its members and it must also have provided useful for informal support and communication. She was perhaps also a necessary thorn in the ELEA's flesh to stimulate it into awareness of its tactics and procedures.

101. Burton, op. cit., page 171

102. She steered the ELEA through its critical early years despite this and was a prolific correspondent on the ELEA's behalf.

University Recognition

Mrs Crudelius' dream was finally realised in 1872 when the Senatus of Edinburgh University agreed to institute a Certificate for Women in Literature, Philosophy and Science. This certificate was directly bound up with the lecture scheme of the ELEA. The certificate was awarded to those women who had passed either the Local Examinations or the Preliminary university examination and also passed three of the ELEA's classes. The ELEA had offered its own certificates up to 1872.

The university's decision to intitiate such a certificate was however not as straightforward a matter as some commentators have suggested. (103) The whole issue of a Certificate for Women arose out of the medical women's debate and surprisingly not directly from ELEA pressure. The catalyst for the change in the University's thinking was the appeal to the University Court in late 1871 not to rescind the regulations admitting women to medical education. (104)

The Scotsman in its reporting of the Court's decision made reference to a statement by Professor Masson. He had implied at the Court meeting that the university had not

103. Grant, op. cit., and Scotland, J. op. cit.

104 See this chapter, page 45

given certificates to women and was unwilling to do so. As a result of this, women students were disadvantaged because they were unable to register on the Rugby Register, an employment listing for prospective governesses and teachers. The reporting of Professor Masson's remarks prompted an immediate reply from Sir Alexander Grant in the Scotsman correspondence columns of the 23rd December 1871 and it is worthwhile looking at this in some detail.(105)

It is obvious from Grant's letter and Masson's response that there was considerable tension between individuals in the University over the idea of education of women, especially with reference to medicine. Grant defended the university's stance regarding the ELEA and outlined his account of events. A proposal, he said, was put before the University Court from the Senatus on 26th April 1869 to consider a 'formal and organic union' between the university and the Association - in other words incorporation or affiliation. Professor Muirhead raised doubts about the legality of this and the resolution was recalled. Muirhead's appeal was sustained on 23 July 1869. The Court cautiously decided it could not sanction any affiliation to an institution like the ELEA which 'has as

105. Scotsman, 23/12/1871

yet no permanent status, which had no endowments, no charter , no buildings and about which even its supporters in those days were often heard to express a fear that its continuance might become precarious'. (106)

The Court recommended to the Senate that it do everything possible, short of affiliation to aid the ELEA , "especially to make arrangements for carrying on examinations by University examiners for the purpose of granting certificates of proficiency ". (107) This amendment was proposed in the Senatus by none other than Sir Robert Christison whose name was frequently linked with the medical women's campaign.

Grant argued that it would have been expected that with the knowledge of this amendment the Association would have been prompted to renew the question of certificates to the Senatus. Instead he noted that there had been no word at all from the Association on this question and that Professor Masson should himself have raised the issue with the Senatus and not at the Court meeting in question. Grant argued that any request would have been cordially met.

Professor Masson's response was quite unequivocal and blunt. Firstly, he argued that there would and should have been more lady medical students had the regulations

106. Scotsman, op. cit., 23/12/1871

107. *ibid.*

to allow them to study been carried out with more goodwill. He then said that if numbers were important, they should look to the ELEA whose classes had been attracting between 200 and 300 ladies. Its achievements had been great and all due to the efforts of Mrs Crudelius and others :

"These ladies have throughout had a definite aim, and have never been diverted from it. Not to provide intermittent courses of lectures for ladies on all subjects and sundry, but to set up in Edinburgh an equivalent for ladies to the Faculty of Arts in our University has been the object of the Association....Virtually in fact the Association is a bit of the university outside the university." (108)

Masson also emphasised in his letter that the ELEA was "the most interesting and successful attempt yet made in this country to provide University education for women ". In contrast he noted that " the behaviour of the University towards this interesting experiment going on at its doors has been cold, oblivious and niggardly." (109) The lack of certificates for women was blamed by Grant on the ELEA and members of the Senatus who had failed to bring the matter forward. Masson linked the whole absence of certificates to the medical women's campaign. The medical regulations for women passed on 12th November 1869 seemed to imply that women could matriculate, receive separate instruction and take a degree; so in Masson's view all that was required was an extension of these regulations to the Arts faculty. The storm over the denial of graduation to the women medicals was not

108. Scotsman, 24/12/1871

109. *ibid.*

conducive to raising any motion about any other aspect of women's education. Masson also countered Grant's argument that the ELEA was without any firm institutional foundation noting that it had been no hindrance to the original founders of the university itself :

"it is the duty of the University of Edinburgh, just because it is a University, to do all it can to promote the education of women within its range, to devise ways for doing so, and not to wait until it is asked." (110)

Masson also described as 'despicable' the tendency to distinguish women's education into general education and education for a profession. Women had every right, he said, to take their education as far as possible without any restrictions.

This public correspondence by two of the university's eminent personalities was almost reminiscent of the medical women's campaign in its rhetoric and vehemence. Mrs Crudelius also corresponded with Sir Alexander Grant and although some of the correspondence is incomplete it does reveal that there was some justification on both sides for their stance.(111) Mrs Crudelius wrote to Grant telling him to get his facts correct. Professor Christison's amendment implied direct action. Grant replied that the amendment had never been carried, expressing his 'wonder' that the ELEA committee was

110. *ibid.*

111. Gen1877/14 Miscellaneous correspondence

sitting waiting for a Senate decision. Perhaps then there was a lack of communication by the Professors to the ELEA but the fact that they were not members of the executive committee would also have hindered dialogue. Mrs Crudelius said that she thought that no response from the Senatus implied refusal but Masson revealed in his Scotsman' letter that he was waiting for a better atmosphere , more favourable to the women's cause. Grant also referred to one lady committee member whom he had understood to say that the ladies were unprepared for any examination. However it has to be noted that it has already been shown that the women students were sitting examinations on a regular basis, set by the university professors and indeed sometimes the same examination as the men students. The Annual Reports are evidence enough that the Professors thought their students were quite able to cope with university examinations. Grant's remark may have been based on a comment in one of the early Annual Reports that the women were not ready for university examinations but this was in the very early experimental days of the ELEA.

The correspondence between Grant and Mrs Crudelius ended abruptly but the lessons had been learned from this airing of views. Mrs Crudelius writing to Professor Masson urged that great harm could be done if there were any mistakes. The goal in her mind had to be to obtain co-equality of graduation but if that failed then certificates would have to be acceptable. If Sir Alexander Grant's comments are true then these certificates could have been instituted

three years earlier , in 1869. If Professor Masson was correct then it was possible that any attempt to extend the medical women's regulations to the Arts women could have jeopardised the whole ELEA enterprise and indeed the explicit attempts by both the medical women and the ELEA to disassociate themselves from each other is further evidence that Professor Masson may well have judged the atmosphere in the Senatus correctly.

The outcome of the Grant-Masson correspondence was to open up discussion and institute change. It was quite evident that the University could not delay and as it looked as though it was ridding itself of the medical women, the Arts women were perhaps viewed as less controversial. The possibility of the University of London holding a women's examination in Edinburgh, and even also Cambridge, may also have been predicted as a likely consequence of any delay. (112)

The tension between the university and the ELEA apparent from the above correspondence was evidently quickly dissipated. Sir Alexander Grant delivered an address on "Happiness and Utility as promoted by the Higher Education of Women" to open the Sixth Session of the ELEA on 5th November 1872 and to mark the introduction of university certificates. These certificates as already mentioned were linked directly to attendance at ELEA classes.

112. Gen 1877/14 Letter from Miss Elvia Orme to Miss Hamilton, 14/9/1871 suggesting they prepare girls for the London University examinations.

Sir Alexander Grant's emphasis in his opening address was less clearly defined than Professor Masson's had been in 1868. His acknowledgment of the ELEA aim to provide the equivalent of a university Arts faculty for women was more muted. He saw measures of strength in the feminine ideal which to him was a mix of primary education, instruction on the accomplishments, moral duties and proprieties which encouraged a lifestyle devoted to feminine pursuits. He heaped praise on the women who were products of this type of upbringing but felt that education of women was not intended 'to supercede the feminine ideal of past times':

"Women will not, through improved education, become individually superior to the noblest women who have yet lived, and whose school has been life and its vicissitudes; but, on the other hand, they will not be unsexed by education; they will retain, unless society loses its good sense, those feminine characteristics which I for one consider to be above price in this world; and, at the same time, by having greater advantages of intellectual culture afforded to them, the general level of the sex may be raised, and women may individually gain much both in happiness for themselves and in usefulness to their fellow-creatures." (113)

Thus, although supporting the maintenance of womanhood, Grant did see the need for equality of educational provision at secondary level, beginning for girls with Latin and Mathematics; but this, he espoused, was to be

113. Grant, Alexander Sir, 'Happiness and Utility as promoted by the Higher Education of Women', 5/11/1872, p10

taught in a different way from the boys :

'... a small daily dose of two disciplinary subjects, to be administered with the greatest caution against over-fatigue, to be taken in the fresh hours of the morning without any pressure and without halt from day to day..... Given such a nucleus as this, accomplishments of various kinds may with all propriety be grouped around it. It is the natural metier of women to cultivate the graceful and pretty arts of life, and it would be ill for society if, instead of ladies knowing these things, were we to substitute a generation of pedants and blue-stockings.' (114)

Given the outlook of many of the ELEA women this was probably not the kind of words they wanted to hear. His comment that 'it would be a misfortune if the education of girls were made over-intellectual' (115) was the epitome of many male attitudes to women's higher education. Certainly, Grant was correct to emphasise the importance of girls' secondary education as a prelude to any higher education but his remarks had strong overtones of conservative Victorianism and were condescending to his audience. To him, the Association had the benefit of an Arts faculty but with no fixed curriculum. He was totally against the idea of young ladies sitting university examinations, especially at honours level and favoured the award of certificates with no ranking according to performance. (116) He was also not interested in testing the performance of women against men in competitive examination. (117) He also hinted vaguely at some kind of separate women's higher educational institution.

114. Grant, Happiness & Utility page 17

115. *ibid.* page 18

116. *ibid.* page 20-1

117. *ibid.* page 31

Grant's views were not reflected in what we know about the views of the women members of the ELEA and it is doubtful if they would have made much impact. This was especially so when people like Emily Davies were writing to the Association urging caution. In a letter to Miss Hamilton some weeks before Grant's address she had urged the ELEA to be wary:

'I am afraid I can never hastily and entirely rejoice in any scheme of certificates which is exclusively for women. The general influence of setting up a separate standard seems to me so injurious as to make it more than questionable whether the practical advantages to be gained are worth the sacrifice of a supremely important principle.' (118)

The saving grace of the ELEA's certificate scheme was that all along the Association and the Professors had sought to impose a standard equal to that of the men so that the certificates would not be devalued and it was seen as a temporary measure until the universities would open their doors to women on an equal basis. One limitation of the certificates was that they were restricted to attendance at Association classes but proposals to open the certificates to all women regardless of where they had been studying was not encouraged by Mrs Crudelius and some of the professors. (119)

118. Gen 1877/14 Letter from Miss Emily Davies 19/10/1872 to Miss Dundas

119. *ibid.* Gen 1877/14

In 1874, the first three ladies who received their university certificates were Flora Masson , Charlotte Carmichael and Margaret Mitchell. (120) This in a sense marked the end of the first phase of development in the ELEA's history. A regular systematic course of lectures given by university professors had been established, these were to university standards and were recognised by Edinburgh University by the award of certificates. Thus , the award of the first certificates to the ELEA students in 1874 marked the end of the first phase of the ELEA's development but this achievement also heralded the beginnings of a new phase of consolidation.

120. Gen 1877/6 Certificate In Arts Volume 1874-92 and ELEA Annual Reports. Flora Massson was the daughter of Professor David Masson.

The Higher Education of Women in Aberdeen, Glasgow and St Andrews in the early 1870s

In the period up to the mid 1870s attempts to follow the ELEA's lead elsewhere in Scotland had mixed success and the pattern varied according to local circumstances. In Glasgow there was no formal equivalent to the ELEA. However, a series of informal lectures had been started in 1868. The instigator of these was Mrs Campbell of Tullichewan whose husband was a well-known Glasgow businessman. At a dinner party in that year she approached John Nichol, the professor of English at Glasgow University about the cause of women's education which she felt was needing new impetus and improvement. His initial reaction we are told was to cry 'preposterous' but he was apparently persuaded otherwise.(121) Lectures were given in Natural Philosophy, English Literature and Natural History. There is little record of the progress of these lectures in the late 1860s and early 1870s: whether they were given on a regular basis or just occasionally, annually or even if they were exclusively for women. Interest was obviously maintained and attendances consistent. Professorial support was again vital and some of the younger generation of professors (Nichol, Veitch, Caird, and Young) were willing to give lectures.

121. The Book of the Jubilee 1451-1901 , p 126-7

In Aberdeen, the pattern of organisation of higher educational provision for women was again different in style although the key elements of lectures, local examinations and educational association were all present. As the detailed developments of the Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association and the contributions of its leading personalities have been well documented elsewhere it will be sufficient here to give only a brief summary of the main episodes. (122)

While Edinburgh was moving quickly to establish a formal association and systematic lecture structure in the first period prior to the mid 1870s, there was no such move in Aberdeen. In this first phase of developments for higher education of women, attempts to introduce higher education to the female population of Aberdeen were sporadic and tended more to the 'popular' level of lecture than the academic. In 1868 and 1869 Professor William Milligan began a weekly class for ladies on the Books of the New Testament. The idea was raised at this time of setting up a similar association to the Edinburgh one. In January 1870, Mr Krueger, Head of the Aberdeen Young Ladies' Institution attempted to set up some classes in experimental physics, chemistry and English Literature. Only eight students attended and despite a second attempt in the following year, Krueger's experiment failed through lack of students. (123)

122. See Bibliography for full list of articles by L. R. Moore. The following section is based on this material.

123. Moore, L.R., AUR, op.cit., p 283 She comments on lack of female initiative.

For the next few years, whilst events in Edinburgh and Parliament kept the issues of women's medical and higher education to the forefront of general public interest, there was no direct action to set up a ladies' association in Aberdeen. Some well known people in Aberdeen did participate in the ongoing public discussion of the issues. The MP for Elgin, Grant-Duff who was also Rector at Aberdeen University was one such supporter and as in all the ladies' educational associations which were formed in Scotland, one or two names of supporters tended to dominate the particular local accounts. In Aberdeen an advocate John Duguid Milne was most prominent. Professor John Struthers was another supporter of the women's cause and headed the list of professorial support which also included Professor Black and Professor Milligan. In November 1876 there was a proposal to give university lectures to aid the level of secondary education, particularly in science subjects and the question was raised about whether these would be open to women. The plan fell through due to Senatus opposition to regular evening courses being held. Professor Black volunteered to start a Latin class provided he had sufficient numbers of students. Also at this time Professor Milligan began a series of lectures to the Aberdeen Young Women's Christian Association. Fresh interest was thus generated in the whole question of women's education and the role of the university. Within the university a motion had been placed before the Senate by Professor Alexander Bain to petition Parliament to include in any future Bill a clause

removing the legal restriction to women's university admission. He lost the vote on an amendment which deferred consideration of the question.(124) By this time however opinion as we shall see later was more favourable to supporting some scheme of lectures for women.

In St Andrews it is recorded that an Association for the Promotion of the Higher Education of women had been set up in 1868. (125) Few details have been located about its founders or its lecture scheme so no conclusions can be made about the nature of its foundation, i.e. whether professors were the main instigators or whether women themselves set it up. Some clues to its progress at this time can however be gleaned from correspondence by Mrs Daniell to the ELEA. Formerly a founder member of the ELEA, Mrs Daniell left Edinburgh about 1869 and moved to St Andrews. She wrote several letters to her former colleagues about various aspects of the higher education movement. Although some of these are not dated they

124. *ibid.*, p. 294

125. *ibid.*, p. 280. This was in association with London University and Hitchin College, Cambridge and included some kind of lecture scheme (according to the Ladies Edinburgh Magazine vol v Nov 1879, p.517.)

do give us some information about the St Andrews Association:

"This Association began several years ago, with the highest aims, and Professors on the Committee, but principally I think from the fact of the place being small, it has been found impossible to repeat the course of lectures. There is not a sufficient number of girls to keep up an annual supply and so the thing has dwindled to a mere intellectual amusement. Also there (is) too great a gap between any educational institution here, and the University. Mrs Young told me the same had occurred in Glasgow, she referring it to the fact that it was no longer fashionable. I remember however very vividly just now a remark of Professor Fraser's at one of Miss Simon's Philosophical teas, expressing disbelief in ladies continuing to study without any end in view. Some one said they thought they would, then said he, "it is wonderfully to their credit" I think it is wonderfully to their credit having gone on so long but it does not seem to me that since then we have advanced much towards a full University education for Women. " (126)

Mrs Daniell indicates quite clearly the problems faced not only by St Andrews in attracting serious students willing to undertake serious study and not to attend lectures as some extension of their cultural amusement. Certainly the size of the town of St Andrews would limit the scope for development of the Association. She reiterated her view in another letter to Miss Hamilton describing the lectures as not being the "crowning of an education, but are the interest and amusement of middle aged married women." (127)

Later in 1876 when canvassed by the ELEA about support in St Andrews for raising a local bursary for the local

126. Gen 1877/14, Mrs Daniell's correspondence

127. *ibid.*

examinations, she commented pessimistically that "active minded, highly intellectual people of a superior class would not chose St Andrews as a residence ". (128) Mrs Daniell may well have been missing the buzz and excitement of the Edinburgh educational scene to have made these remarks but she may well have been reflecting an unsettled atmosphere which prevailed at St Andrews University at that time. (129) St Andrews instituted its own local examination scheme in 1867.

Thus, of the four university centres at this time up to the mid 1870s Edinburgh was the most far advanced in terms of organised systematic courses for women run on university lines. An association had been formed and had obtained official recognition by 1872 with the institution of certificates for women. This was despite the parallel storm over the admission of women to study medicine there. Important channels at an informal level had been opened in Aberdeen, Glasgow and St Andrews which paved the way for more formal structures in the next phase of development.

128. *ibid.*

129. *op. cit.* Cant, page 120

Second steps

From the mid 1870s the campaign to improve the higher education of women in all spheres began to gather momentum. The medical women mounted a parliamentary campaign to clarify by legislation the clauses governing the rights of women to university admission. In Edinburgh the ELEA entered its second period of development to consolidate and build on its achievements. In Aberdeen, St Andrews and Glasgow formal associations for the higher education of women were formed and new developments instituted which began to change the educational opportunities for women in Scotland. Indeed the beginnings of a structured system of higher education for women emerged at this time. In this second phase of development prior to the admission of women to the Scottish Universities in 1892 a more general campaign was mounted to persuade the government and the university authorities to make constitutional change to permit the admission of women.

Parliament and the medical women

After the defeat of the medical women and the legal ruling that Edinburgh University had acted illegally in admitting the women as matriculated students in 1869, the focus of the debate shifted to London. Sophia Jex-Blake also moved to London to continue her campaign.(130)

130. After great efforts she successfully opened the London School of Medicine for Women in 1874 which included obtaining the necessary examiners and recognition by hospitals etc.

Sir David Wedderburn, one of the members of the Edinburgh Committee proposed the introduction of a Scottish Universities Enabling Bill in 1873 . This was immediately after the Court of Session decision which had implied directly in its deliberations the necessity of parliamentary legislation to ease the apparent constitutional problem of allowing women to matriculate and graduate. The Bill would have given the Scottish Universities discretionary power to admit women and would have been a means of overcoming the "ultra-vires" decision of the Court of Session. Wedderburn was supported by J B Stansfield, Russell Gurney and Cowper-Temple. Sophia Jex-Blake again began a round of canvassing and gathering support for the proposed Bill but in February 1874 the Liberal government fell and the matter was postponed.

A private members' Bill was next introduced by Cowper - Temple later in 1874 but this was postponed and reintroduced in March 1875. (131) His Universities (Scotland) (Degrees to women) Bill aimed again to remove doubts as to the power of the Scottish Universities to admit women as students and to grant degrees to women. As well as canvassing support among politicians, the Bill's supporters activated support and debate in the Scottish

131. After the second reading of the Bill on 24th April 1874, the Edinburgh University MP, Dr Lyon Playfair urged a postponement so that his university could further consider the question. What they thought they were doing in the years 1869 to 1874 when Sophia Jex-Blake urged their consideration of that very question is questionable although it may have been seen as a delaying tactic.

University centres. They also provoked hostile reaction. Three main factions of Edinburgh University which had all along created obstacles to the medical women - the medical Faculty, Senatus and Court - all sent in petitions against the Bill. The University of Glasgow also petitioned against the Bill on the grounds that it would give too much power to the University Courts. When the Glasgow University Senatus had voted to object to the Bill, Professors Cowan and Berry had been the main exponents of opposition. Principal John Caird and his brother Professor Edward Caird, whom we shall learn were at the heart of the higher education of women movement in Glasgow, vigorously opposed their motion. The Cairds advocated that to oppose the Bill outright was to imply opposition to the general principles of higher education for women.(132) Principal Caird in fact was one of 26 professors who sent in a memorial to Parliament in support of the Bill. The Town Councils of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Linlithgow also sent in supporting petitions. The medical lecturers of the Edinburgh Extra-Mural School and the Committee for Securing the Complete Medical education to women both supported the Bill. The Committee's membership now numbered 1000. In total 65 petitions were delivered. Sophia Jex-Blake noted that 16,000 women had been signatories to one petition. (133)

132. Jones & Muirhead, *op. cit.*, pages 97-99

133. SJB Medical Women *op. cit.*, page 173

In March 1875 another Bill was introduced by Cowper-Temple to permit the registration of degrees of foreign universities in France, Berlin, Leipzig and Berne but was defeated although an undertaking was made by the Government to consider the women's medical education issue.(134) For the medical women, further progress came from the General Medical Council who had been asked by the Privy Council to state the situation regarding the registration of women doctors. The conclusions reached included a statement that in effect there were no real grounds to exclude women.

Cowper- Temple's Foreign Degrees Bill was reintroduced and Russell Gurney also introduced another Enabling Bill which applied to all universities in the United Kingdom and Ireland. This was a permissive Bill which again gave discretionary powers to admit women. The approval of the General Medical Council was given but they qualified it by noting that a medical degree did not give women any rights to sit on an examining body. the Foreign Degrees Bill was withdrawn and the Enabling Bill, with government support was then passed on 12th August 1876. This enabling Bill, called the Medical Act(Qualifications) Bill 1876 enabled British licencing bodies to admit women to their examinations.

134. Moberley Bell, op. cit. page 99 and E Lutzker, op. cit. pages 54-61

Thus although the original enabling Bill had been to remove obstacles to admit women to the Scottish Universities the final outcome was geared to the medical women in particular because at this stage the question of the admission of medical women was a much more burning issue than the admission of women to the Arts faculties of universities.

Attempts by the medical women to find a university which would now examine them for a medical degree eventually were successful when Queen's University and the Irish College of Physicians agreed to admit women to their examinations and to recognise the London School of Medicine for Women.

In 1877, Sophia Jex-Blake and Edith Pechey, now both MDs of Berne University passed the examinations in Dublin and were duly registered as members of the General Medical Council to join Elizabeth Blackwell and Elizabeth Garrett. The Royal Free Hospital in London eventually agreed to have women receive their clinical instruction thus paving the way for the medical women following in Sophia Jex-Blake's footsteps and allowing full medical instruction for a degree to be offered at the London school of Medicine for Women. In addition, events moved further forward in 1878 when a new Charter of London University included a clause which finally admitted women to all degrees.

However, the Enabling Act was just that. The universities were not empowered to admit medical women. It was up to the women to use the act to persuade a university authority to admit them and in Scotland, given the Edinburgh experience, there were no direct attempts to try again for admission. Instead focus was centred on the appointment of a University Commission in 1876 to 'inquire into various matters connected with the universities of Scotland'. These various matters included the constitution and powers of the University Court, the functions of the General Council, course of study, new faculties, entrance examinations, new professors and lecturers, length of sessions, extra mural work and finance. Out of the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858, several defects in the structure of the Scottish Universities had emerged. In particular the arts curriculum was still believed to be too general and there was too little specialisation. (135)

On 6th July 1876 the ELEA wrote to the Universities Commission asking it to review the university education of women and enclosed the memorial it had delivered to the Endowed Schools Commission in 1872/3. (136) There was no positive response apart from a superficial acknowledgement and only on 5th February 1877 did Professor T Robert

135. Report 1878 and Davies, George, The Democratic Intellect. (2nd edition 1964) He has nothing to say on the issue of the admission of women and is concerned mainly with the anglicisation of the Scottish Higher Education structure.

136. This was a memorial urging extra endowments to improve the level of secondary schooling for girls.

Berry, the Secretary of the Commission communicate with the ELEA saying the Commission did not think it was 'justified in undertaking the consideration of that subject with the view of reporting upon it.' (137) No reasons were given so one can only surmise that either the Commission expected legislative developments or that the effects of the medical controversy were still being felt. By liberal interpretation it certainly could have had the powers to consider the question of women under the various clauses of its remit. The ELEA immediately sent a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department reiterating its claim that the Commission should consider the question of higher education of women, arguing that both Edinburgh and St Andrews had Chairs of Education but that the majority of teachers (an increasing majority) were women and were denied instruction within the Universities.

This was a point also made by Mrs Christina Struthers in an article to the Aberdeen press in 1883 amid much public discussion of the question.(138) At the NAPSS meeting held in Aberdeen in 1877 she had already spoken out on 'University local examinations for girls and women. She

137. Gen1877/14 ELEA correspondence. Professor Berry was professor of Law at Glasgow University, the same person who had encouraged Glasgow University Court to object to the Enabling Bill. The Commissioners were not directly empowered to consider women although there were some references to women in teaching and the increasing need for them to receive similar university teaching to that of the men as part of their teacher training. The Index to the Minutes of Evidence hold no references to women but they are indeed mentioned in the Minutes themselves. Only certain witnesses presented evidence.

138. Struthers, C The Admission of Women to the Scottish Universities (1883)

also noted that the battle for the admission of women to the Scottish Universities was fought first by the medical women and argued that it had retarded any more general advance in that direction. Mrs Struthers in advocating the admission of women also dealt with some of the anticipated objections to any change. She argued , firstly, that the dangers of mixed classes were more 'imaginary than real' and that discipline would not be a problem and that the dangers of any romantic attachments were unlikely. She also dismissed the problem of lack of accommodation. In Aberdeen the demands for extra accomodation would not initially be great and in St Andrews there was ample spare capacity. Glasgow and Edinburgh would need additional space regardless of the admission of women.

The arguments of Mrs Struthers for the admission of women were duplicated by many others but to no avail. Further attempts were to be made in the 1880s by the ladies' associations.

The Commission reported in 1878 but it took several years of attempting to get legislation together before the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889 was on the statute book. The Commission therefore had ignored the demands of women for higher education. Indeed it is true to say that there seemed to be more concern on the part of the commissioners

about curricula and course structure than the simple reform of extending university admission to women which was not considered to be a main issue.. The 1889 Act covered many of the findings of the 1878 Report but there was considerable confusion in the lead up to the drafting of the Act as to whether a clause would be included regarding women. The decade of the 1880s was to be a period of waiting in anticipation of legislation. The Associations were well established and running smoothly and were associated to the universities through the award of University certificates and indeed the LLA at St Andrews as we shall see offered women the chance to receive a certificate which had a title to it and which enhanced prospects of employment in the teaching profession. In some ways these years were needed to establish the seriousness of the women's claim by demonstrating their ability and persistence towards their goal. Perhaps however, the 1880s also lacked momentum because the very establishment of ladies educational associations weakened their demands in the short term.

The ELEA 1874-1879 and the Edinburgh Association for the Higher Education of Women 1879-1892

Looking in more detail at the period between the mid 1870s and the passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act in 1889 many developments in the educational associations were seen which were to have long lasting implications. These were most notable in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Firstly in Edinburgh, the second phase of the development of the ELEA had two important strands. One was the need to consolidate its position and strengthen its organisation. The second was to expand its activities.

The question of the ELEA's constitution was raised at a general meeting of members on 28th October 1874.(139) One apparent weakness of the association was that the professors were excluded from its management and they were not even on a consultative committee. The need for change was further reinforced by the award of university certificates. In a letter to the ELEA on 11th April 1876 Professor Masson intimated that he would not give lectures unless he and his colleagues were part of the executive and administration. He argued that it would promote stability, efficiency and aid further development. (140)

139. Gen1877/14 ELEA correspondence 11/4/1876

140. *ibid.*

As a consequence of this ultimatum, the constitution of the Association was changed and as it moved into its 11th year of operation it had a new look. Gone was the Annual Report and Prospectus format and in came a Calendar similar to the university's. A new constitution was made which set up two elected bodies and a general Committee. The General Committee consisted of all subscribers. From this a Council was elected consisting of the professors and 21 members. In addition an executive committee was formed with 5 ladies and 4 gentlemen, three of whom were to be professors. (141) The executive in 1878 consisted of the Duchess of Argyll (Pres), Miss Dundas and Professor Masson (Vice Presidents), Miss Hamilton (Hon Sec), Louisa Stevenson (Treasurer) and committee members Professors Calderwood and Fraser, Mr J R Findlay, Mrs Lorimer and Miss S&S. Mair.

The running of the Association on parallel lines to the university was reinforced further by the change of name in 1879 to the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women. (EAUEW) Thus it clearly stated its overall objective. The terminology did not please everyone. Simon S Laurie writing in response to some queries from the women about the local examinations a few years earlier

141. The deaths of Mrs Mair and Mrs Crudelius in the years 1876 and 1877 also marked the end of the first phase of the Association's development.

had said this:

'I do not think it advisable to use the words University Education for women. There is no University for women and the term raises up the idea of mixed classes, Jex-Blake and all the other points of controversy. For myself I am as anxious as anyone to give women a fair chance but I would rather see them all condemned forever to the spinning wheel than get education at the cost of mixing with men.' (142)

On the financial side of the Association two themes were continued in the second phase. One was the continued efforts to raise bursaries for students and in this they were reasonably successful. Miss Houldsworth provided money to start a fund (£600) which established a bursary in her name of £30 over two years. Miss Dundas was also active in promoting bursaries. Many other members donated prizes or books to the library. Some encouraged others to come to the lectures and special tickets were given to teachers and governesses.

Table 1.2 indicates the statistical picture of the ELEA's development from the late 1870s. There was a tail-off in the attendance at the more traditional subjects as new subjects were introduced, often for only one year.

142. Gen 1877/ 14, 15th March 1876

Table 1.2 Attendance figures EAUW 1878-1890.

subject	session																
	1878-9	79-80	80-1	81-2	82-3	83-4	84-5	85-6	86-7	87-8	88-9	89-90	90-1				
Eng Lit	105	83	75	85	68	66	83	75	84	58	44	45	41				
Nat Phil		45		64													
Logic &	39	39		36	22				31		11	15					
MentalPhil																	
Maths	6	13	6	15	13	8	16	6	14		11	7	8				
MoralPhil			52	39			33	26		15		22					
Greek	8	8		8		33				10							
Latin	10	11	17	11	10	13	7	13	4	7	6	11	9				
Chemistry	12																
Geology				46													62
Physio-	42					71			71								
logy																	
Zoology								49									
Economic			22				31										
Science																	
Theory of	36																
Education																	
Biblical																	
Criticism																	
Botany			40							59	33						
Fine Art								66		66	70	41	22				
Music						27											
Science																	
&History																	
of language																	
Exerimental											25						
Physics																	
History											31						65
Astronomy																	28
Total	258	199	212	303	323	305	197	235	204	215	231	203	173				

(source: Gen1877 / EAUW Calendars)

Attempts to raise bursaries were aimed at maintaining attendance figures which were showing some signs of tailing off and were of some concern, especially in Mathematics where there had been no students in session 1875-6. There was some suggestion that commercial depression and the decline of the 'dilettante' group of attenders had contributed to this. It may also have been the competition from the LLA scheme. The lack of preparatory training was also muted as a reason for some decline in numbers. (143)

One other aspect of bursaries was the Association's moves in 1876 to canvas support for local centres in country districts to raise local bursaries to encourage more girls to enter the local examinations which would lead them to study for the university certificate. (144) There had been some concern also at the slow progress of the number of candidates presenting themselves for these examinations. In view of the Association's certificates it was essential that enough candidates be prepared to the level of the local examinations in order to sit the Association examinations. A sub-committee of Misses Hamilton, Dundas and Houldsworth was formed to look into the question and they began by writing to the local examination secretaries, the heads of all the ladies' schools and

143. The Ladies Edinburgh Magazine, 1877, p 87

144. see earlier, page 76.

burgh schools attended by girls. The response was mixed. In general it was thought to be a good idea but doubts were expressed about its success due to ignorance, indifference or poverty.

Another aspect of the financial position of the ELEA was the start of an endowment fund to provide permanent classrooms and this they were successful in doing, raising £400 in the first appeal. In 1879 the Association had moved into rooms in Shandwick Place, Edinburgh. It had previously held classes in the Hopetoun Rooms, George Street and the Royal Society of Arts, George Street.

Perhaps the most significant development in the ELEA's history was the founding of the St George's Hall Oral and Correspondence classes in 1876. These arose out of the concern about the local examination question. Miss Dundas commented that it bore testimony to the disorganised state of secondary education and difficulties in post-primary education.(145) Sarah E S Mair was again instrumental in this new initiative. The classes started informally in her home where some young ladies met to study for the local examinations. The tutor was a Mr McGlashan. In June 1876 30 students sat the local examination. The Association

145. Dundas, Anne, The St George's Hall Classes and System of Instruction by Correspondence 1877 (ECL, YLC2069 B4160) See also L. M. Rae, op.cit. and Gen1877/ELEA Reports.

then took it up officially and held classes in St George's Parish Church Halls, Randolph Place, Edinburgh from which the classes derived their name. In session 1876-77 additional tutors in Latin and German were appointed. One of the ELEA's students, Miss Mary Walker became the first superintendent of the St George's Hall classes in 1877. (146) In the local examinations of that year 55 candidates sat the examinations with a fair degree of success. A £25 bursary was donated by Miss Walker. The St George's classes therefore were a very successful venture and of immense help to girls preparing for the local examinations and the LLA. It can be noted however that the attendance figures for the main stream Arts subjects in Table 1.2 did not rise accordingly with this new development.

The EAUEW's connection with the St George's classes also marked a further new departure. The training of teachers to a grade above that of the Normal School was felt to be needing urgent expansion and the Association decided in November 1885 to set up a College where women students could further their training. It was linked to the Cambridge Teachers' certificate. Although it was initially greeted with some scepticism by existing educational institutions the College nonetheless was opened in May

(146) Miss Walker was secretary and superintendent from 1877 to 1882. After attending Bishopsgate Training College, London she returned as superintendent in 1885.

1886 with criticism classes arranged with some local schools. The College was run by a Committee of Management composed largely of Association stalwarts - Margaret Houldsworth, Mary Jane Urquhart, Sarah Siddons Mair and Mary Walker. (147) As E J Boog Watson has pointed out once the College was established the Association handed over the organisation and finances to a separate administrative body. (148) The committee of management was expanded in 1887. In 1888 St George's School was opened to enable students to accomplish their student training. It had an all female staff and amid claims that there was no need for another girls' school St George's went on to expand its roll . By 1890 150 girls were pupils.

The Association itself settled down into a fairly quiet phase of activity in the 1880s marked only by the steady numbers receiving their Ordinary and Higher certificates of proficiency from the university. The impetus to achieve any further improvements in the status of women's higher education seems largely to have lessened although the Association did continue to submit memorials to the government to enact legislation. The 1880s seems to have been a decade of waiting in anticipation for legislative change which would finally recognise the work of the ELEA/EAUEW.

147. Dundas, op.cit.

148. E J Boog Watson, op. cit. p 12

**The Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women
and Queen Margaret College**

It has already been noted that a Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of women was formed in 1877. This came about largely through heightened interest in the higher education question from 1876 when the British Association met in Glasgow. James Grahame organised a meeting of those interested in the question. (149) This was followed in April 1877 by a large public meeting presided by the Principal of Glasgow University, John Caird to formally constitute the Association. The President of the Association was Princess Louise, Marchioness of Lorne and the two Vice-Presidents were Mrs Campbell and Mrs Scott. The joint secretaries were Miss Janet Galloway and Mrs Lindsay. Thirty-seven ladies served on a general committee of members and ten on an acting committee. The aim of the association was stated thus:

'to systematise and develop the work already begun, to offer to women teaching similar, if possible, to that given to men by the universities, and to promote generally the higher culture and University education of women' (150)

In April 1877 the newly formed association petitioned the Senatus asking for the institution of examinations for women. Although this was declined their cooperation was agreed. The response was negative but some Professors agreed to give lectures and to provide accommodation in their own class-rooms. In November 1877 the lecture scheme commenced with six short courses of twelve lectures on

149. Murray D. passim and The Book of the Jubilee passim
150. Anon. Historical Sketch of the movement for the
Higher Education of Women in Glasgow and Queen Margaret
College. (1896)

university subjects and taught by university professors. There were also two short courses in French Literature. All of these were held courtesy of the Senate in university classrooms. The first one was held on 13th November in Professor Veitch's and was the occasion of an opening address by Dr A B McGrigor who was a staunch supporter of the women's cause. This caused repercussions in the Senatus when questions were asked about why Dr McGrigor had lectured in his official robes as Dean of the Faculty and why he had appeared on behalf of the Principal and the university to welcome the Association without due authority to do so. (151) In this first session tutorial classes in Latin, Mathematics and the Theory of Music were also held in members' houses. In March 1878 the Senatus decided to charge £20 for the use of the classrooms and this may well have limited the development of classes within the university. Indeed later in 1878, lectures including now Modern Literature and History also took place in St Andrew's Halls where several rooms were taken; a room was used for tutorials, and one as a reading room with small library.

Table 1.3 gives some indication of the attendance pattern as the classes developed and expanded and in January 1878, instruction by correspondence commenced under the secretaryship of Jane McArthur with nineteen students on the roll. (152) By 1882-3 this figure had risen to 470.

151. Jones & Muirhead op. cit. page 96-99

152. GUA GAHEW Annual Reports passim.

TABLE 1.3 Attendance at classes of GAHEW

Year	No of students in classes	Correspondence students
1877-78	318	19
1878-79	NA	100
1879-80	245	250
1880-81	167	266
1881-82	184	283
1882-83	143	470
1883-84	114	372
1884-85	240	427
1885-86	260	450
1886-87	261	401
1887-88	242	381
1889-90	203	282
1890-91	194	181

(Source:GUA GAHEW Annual Reports)

It should be noted that some of the Correspondence classes had young men students as well. The data for session 1878-79 classes was not located. The lower figures for the 1880-81 session through to 1883-83 reflect an overall decline in students attending as well as some internal adjustment of the figures to allow for students attending more than one class to be discounted from the totals. There are some ambiguities about these figures as there were with the Edinburgh figures. It all depended on whether there was a need to inflate the figures to give an impression of favourable attendance.

To attract more students Mrs Campbell initiated a bursary scheme to help those in need and a registry of governesses under Miss Eliza Paterson was set up. Indeed some of the

sources suggest that one of the main aims of the Association was to help governesses. Glasgow later joined the Northern United Registry with Leeds and Edinburgh but Edinburgh later ~~was~~ceded to the Governesses Benevolent Association. (153) A loan fund was also later established by the Association to help women who were training to be teachers.

From 1877 to 1883 the lecture scheme ran successfully. The original course of twelve lectures per subject was expanded from 12 to 25 and then 40. So a woman attending the Association's classes could be receiving the equivalent of a university style higher education. The Senatus was obstinate about women sitting examinations other than those under the local examination scheme but they relented and an examination and certificate were instituted in 1883. As well as the junior and senior local examinations being open to girls a higher local examination certificate had been introduced in May 1880 after pressure from the Glasgow Association. The Association throughout had awarded its own Diploma to its students. When extra classes were held in the University accommodation was once again free. (154) There was however a qualification attached: it was stipulated that 'no women's classes shall meet or disperse at the hours but only at the quarter and half-hours' (155)

153. Anon. Historical sketch, op.cit.

154. Jones and Muirhead op.cit. pages 96-99

155. *ibid.*

There was considerable pondering over the title of the certificate (especially as we shall see below when the LLA certificate for women was being introduced at St Andrews) but it was eventually described simply as a Certificate in Degree subjects. (156)

The developments in Glasgow however moved further than this with the foundation of Queen Margaret College in 1883. This was one of the most important developments for the history of the womens' higher education movement in Scotland. The Glasgow Association was given the means to open a College in North Park House opposite the Botanic Gardens and close to the university at Gilmorehill. Their benefactor was Mrs Elder who purchased North Park House in February 1884 for £12,000 from the trustees of John Bell. This was leased rent free to the Association on the condition that they raised an endowment fund of £20,000 after which they would receive the title to the property.

The aim of establishing a College was to provide a sound foundation on which to build on the success which had already been achieved. The Association was incorporated as a College under the Companies Act and was named after Queen Margaret, the wife of King Malcolm Canmore, in recognition of her early contribution to the arts. Like

156. GHAHEW Annual Reports.

the Edinburgh association the Glasgow Association's committee had been exclusive to women but this was now altered. A council was appointed to be the governing body and consisted of 21 members, nine ladies and 12 gentlemen of whom two were appointed by the Senatus (Professors Caird and Young), one by the School Board, one by the Merchant's House, and the remainder by the College. Queen Victoria's daughter, the Marchioness of Lorne continued as President and Mrs Campbell, upon whom the success of Association had depended, was Vice President. Janet Ann Galloway continued as Secretary and became the central personality in the development of the Queen Margaret College. (157) There was no formal affiliation to the university although it was hoped that a formal connection would be made. All the lecturers were appointed by the Council and were graduates of the university and occasionally professors from the university although to a lesser extent than at Edinburgh.

The College opened in 1884 and soon developed from strength to strength as its support from subscribers and students grew. There were some 520 subscribers including certificate holders and some of the Professors' wives. (158) The classes and curricula expanded to follow the Arts faculty scheme and indeed Marion Gilchrist, Margaret Fullerton and Isabel Blacklock were awarded Arts degrees

157. Murray, D. op.cit.

158. GUA 30073 Register of members of QMC 1883-1892

from the College although they were withdrawn because of course the College had no power to confer degrees. (159) The College was seen by many as the "Scottish Girton" being more akin to the English system of Newnham, Girton, or Somerville for example. This was because the college was exclusively for women and operated on the university periphery both geographically and in terms of its professorial links and the award of women's certificates.

Two episodes in Queen Margaret College's development can be noted from the 1880s decade. The first of these was the association's continued campaign to urge government action to enable the Scottish Universities to admit women.

Admission to the university as matriculated students and graduation were still the ultimate goals of the College and accordingly numerous petitions were sent to the government in the hope of stimulating action and as a reminder that although the College had been established the end goal had not been forgotten. (160) Numerous petitions and memorials were submitted in the 1880s, including one to those drawing up the Bill to reorganise the Educational (Endowments) system in 1881, a memorandum to the Royal Commission on educational endowments in 1882 and a petition regarding the Bill for the Better Administration and Endowments of the Universities in Scotland in 1883.

159. Marion Gilchrist, 'Some Early Recollections of the Queen Margaret Medical School' reprint from Surgo, March 1948

160. GUA QMC/GS 20031, 20030 and 20033 Petitions etc.

The second aspect concerned the visit of Queen Victoria in August 1888. She was visiting Glasgow to attend the International Exhibition and largely through the connection of her daughter, Princess Louise she agreed to visit the College. It was hoped from the College's point of view that a Royal visit would stimulate the endowment fund set up when the college had opened to meet Mrs Elder's target of £20,000.

After a two and a half hour delay and a drive past the gates of the College in error, Queen Victoria arrived at the front of the College to receive an address from the College. She did not enter the premises but remained in her carriage. In turn Queen Victoria expressed the hope that the College would soon be affiliated to the University. Further visits from Princess Louise in November 1888 and October 1890 also drew the Royal interest to the public's attention, a useful publicity aid.(161)

As the decade progressed there was increased interest by women students in science and medicine with the result that in 1890 the QMC set up a Medical School. Since the Triple qualification of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh and Glasgow had opened their Licentiate to women in 1886 the way had been opened for

161. GUA QMC 20008, Annual Report 1889-90 and GUA 20045

women to study medicine in Scotland. (162) The QMC Medical School duly opened in basement rooms in the college in 1890.

The number of women who attended as medical students in 1890-91 was 13, nine were beginners and four had already done a first year course. The curriculum was fairly well laid down adhering strictly to the equivalent university curriculum. An Anatomy laboratory was added to the Chemistry and Physics ones which had been built in 1888. With the institution of the Medical School at QMC full instruction in Arts and Medicine was now offered to women in the same college. (163) Clinical instruction was received at the Royal Infirmary, Glasgow.

Thus by 1890 the Queen Margaret College was the only women's college in Scotland and, run exclusively for women, it focussed the attention of the university authorities on the continued demand for university admission.

162. Comrie, J. D. History of Scottish Medicine (1932) p.788; Sophia Jex-Blake op. cit. p 226
163. GUA 20012 QMC Annual Report 1890-91

The Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association

In Aberdeen, the setting up of the Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association was the work of J D Milne who was the main instigator of a proposal to set up a ladies association. At the first meeting in April 1877 those present consisted of members of the legal profession and businessmen. It was unusual that there were no church or educational representatives at that first meeting. Lord Provost Jamieson presided at the July meeting when the participants were more representative of all interests including the ladies. The ALEA had three main objectives and these were firstly to establish lecture courses for women given by university professors as far as possible; secondly to promote the local examination scheme in Aberdeen (At this stage Aberdeen University had not yet instituted its own local scheme) ; thirdly to promote in general the higher education of women. If anything the ALEA set its sights slightly lower than Edinburgh in that it could not hope to hold classes twice weekly or to charge two guineas as fees so all it hoped to do was to hold cheaper classes perhaps once a week. Its students would be given a measure of instruction at university level but it did not aim to offer the equivalent of an Arts faculty. Two early criticisms of the ALEA's formation were made by Professor Struthers which although later remedied did show the quite different structure to the Aberdeen association, i.e. there was an absence of women on the committee and the subject programme, including

astronomy had been chosen by the male members of the committee without consultation. (164)

By 11th June 1877, the Aberdeen Association was formally constituted and the executive committee had a membership of thirty ,17 women and 13 men. It should be noted that some of the women members were professors' wives like Mrs Milligan and Mrs Struthers. (165) From 1877 to 1884 the organisation of the ALEA was divided into sub-committees (all women). In that period , the number of courses which were run was 21, 14 of which were taught by the professors and this covered some 13 subjects. Moore tell us that 700 women attended in this period. (166). By 1884 the interest in the lectures had declined and the ALEA was wound up in 1886.

Several factors contributed to this abrupt end although the enterprise had by no means been a failure. Its first aim to establish classes had largely been fulfilled. The second aim of promoting the local examination scheme had also worked in that more girls had started to sit the local examinations run by Edinburgh University in Aberdeen and because of the irony of Aberdeen not offering local examinations to its own locality the Association eventually persuaded the university to institute its own

164. Moore, L.R. Northern Scotland, op.cit., p 128-9

165. Mrs Struthers was of course Christina Struthers who was a highly articulate campaigner for women's education. As a point of interest her daughter, Mary married David Masson's son, David Orme Masson.

166. Moore, Northern Scotland, op.cit. p 154

local scheme in 1880. The focus of Aberdeen University's student recruitment had traditionally focussed on the Dick and Milne Bequest competitions and the university's own bursary examination which was of course not open to girls at that time.

Therefore the beginning of the Aberdeen scheme was important for girls' schooling in Aberdeen although the fact that Aberdeen was the only Scottish University without a scheme may well have spurred on its institution. In addition the rival activities at St Andrews University, which will be discussed below also contributed to a general lack of direction and impetus. The success of these two aims of the ALEA generated a general interest in the higher education of women in the Aberdeen area which in essence fulfilled the third aim of promoting such interest.

St Andrews University and the LLA

Just at the time when the St Andrews Association for the Promotion of the Higher Education of Women was folding through lack of students, St Andrews University took the decision to institute a higher certificate for women, known as the L.A. (Literate in Arts) and later called the LLA. Its origins as R N Smart has shown, were somewhat

vague.(167) Professor Roberts, we are told, was the proposer of the recommendation to offer a certificate to women at a Senatus meeting in December 1876. Whether it was hoped this would boost the numbers in the local Association or whether it was purely a university decision is not known.

The university was going through a period of decline and the scheme may have been seen as an ameliorative measure. In addition the activities in the other Scottish Universities may well have acted as a spur to this initiative. The support of an inner core of professors sympathetic to the higher education of women was also an essential part of this new development.

The scheme as it developed was a wide ranging system offering subjects beyond those taught in the normal university curricula. It was also geographically wide in that centres of examination were established throughout the country. Professor Roberts was the first convener of the LA scheme, sitting on a committee which also dealt with the local examination scheme. In 1878 Roberts' brief convenership ended and William Knight, Professor of Moral Philosophy took over. One year later the two schemes were divided into separate committees. The scheme for women was

167. R N Smart, 'Literate Ladies- a fifty year experiment', Alumnus Chronicle, no 59 June 1968

an immediate success and for one reason. St Andrews offered a title to their higher certificate which was more attractive and valuable for future career prospects than a plain certificate of proficiency.

The LA scheme soon became more systematic. Professor Knight's task was to make the LA similar to the Arts degree course and like Edinburgh set similar if not identical examinations to the men's. In effect the diploma of the LA could have been a female version of the MA degree providing that the same subjects were included. Professor Knight gradually introduced into the LA scheme an emphasis on those subjects which were required passes for the Arts degree by giving prizes in these subjects. In 1883 further subject streamlining of the LA curricula was introduced.

In 1880 the LA scheme changed its title to LLA. As Smart has told us, the extra "L" was a convenient means of differentiating the St Andrews diploma from a new diploma introduced for men at Glasgow and Edinburgh which was called the LA. St Andrews did introduce the same diploma for men but few took it up because it was seen by men as a failed MA.(168)

There was some confusion over the additional "L" in the women's diploma, i.e. whether it was simply doubled to

168. *ibid.*, page 23

differentiate from the men's or whether it meant 'lady' . In 1900 the LLA or 'Lady Literate in Arts' became the official interpretation. This title had received further acknowledgement when after much demand from holders they were allowed to wear a sash in the Arts colours and a silver badge.

The success of the LLA scheme can be measured from the statistical evidence. From 1877 to 1892 the total number of candidates was 5830 and the number of first-time candidates in this total were 2629. The number of women who received the title and diploma of LLA was 1113. In 1877, 8 candidates entered and 3 received the diploma. In 1892, 699 candidates entered (of whom 271 were first time entrants) and 101 received the LLA. This gives some indication of the rapid development and success of the scheme. From 1877 to 1931 Smart has shown that 36,017 candidates entered, 11,441 for the first time, 27,682 passed in more than one subject and 5117 had received the LLA diploma. (169) While the statistics alone are highly significant it is also notable that many of these women holders of the LLA went on to develop distinctive careers and professions in their own right. (170)

Although the LLA scheme was successful, as far as the women were concerned it was not enough. In the session

169. *ibid.*, pages 28-9

170. e.g. Marion Gilchrist and Louisa Lumsden

1880-1881, the university received several petitions from women on the subject of higher education for women, urging the Senatus to press on Parliament the need for women to receive degrees. The LLA scheme they argued had proved that women had the ability and right to full university education. The women also wanted the university to provide proper lecture courses for women for it should be emphasised that the LLA did not offer any instruction within its scheme. (171) The petitions were sent mostly from the local area and included one from some of the LLA holders, two from the Associations for the Higher Education of Women in Dundee and Perth and others from Arbroath, Dunfermline and Cupar.

University College Dundee

While the publicity of the LLA scheme drew attention to St Andrews, the opening of University College, Dundee in 1883 marked another contribution to the provision of higher education for women. Due to the munificence of Miss Baxter of Balgavies who donated over £120,000 towards its foundation, University College was begun for the purpose of 'founding, establishing, endowing, maintaining and conducting a college for promoting the education of persons of both sexes, and the study of science, literature and the Fine Arts'. Based on similar lines to Owens College, Manchester, it ran both day and evening

171. St. Andrews University Muniments UY 3778(d)

classes. (172) The first principal of the College, William Peterson was also Professor of Classics and he had several eminent women taking his subject in the late 1880s who went on to Newnham and Girton. (173) Thus Dundee also made a contribution to the early provision of higher education of women.

The training of women teachers

Consideration of all the facets of the movement for the higher education of women in Scotland would be incomplete without some mention of the training of teachers in Scotland. It is a subject already well documented and it is proposed to give only a brief outline of the position in the 1870s and 1880s. (174) There were two main ways of training to be a teacher in the 1860s; one was through the pupil teacher system whereby students from the age of 13 commenced a five year apprenticeship, teaching by day and studying in the evening. There were further opportunities to become Queen's scholars and receive extra training at one of the normal schools. There was also the training colleges founded by the churches which had for many years been at the centre of the education system.

172. University College, Dundee Calendar 1883, page 6. See also Southgate, Donald, University Education in Dundee. A Centenary History (1982) for further information on the history of the college although the account gives no acknowledgement of the significance of the inclusion of women in its classes.

173. Meredith, A. F. 'Of Learned Ladies', Contact (University of Dundee magazine), vol 1, no 3, March 1976.

174. Cruickshanks, M. History of the Training of Teachers (1970)

The Argyll Commission in 1864 which looked into the state of Scottish education and the Scottish Education Act of 1872 had heralded important changes in the structure of schools and colleges. The transfer of administration to the State and the institution of School Boards were two changes made but the churches retained college control.

The training of teachers at the colleges increased in the 1870s and 1880s along with the growth in the concurrent system whereby students could undertake attendance at some university classes provided they had reached the correct grade. However the most significant feature of the teaching profession in this period was the growth of women teachers. (175)

A postscript to further medical developments

Although it seemed that the passing of the Act in 1876 marked the finale to the medical women's campaign further significant changes occurred in the late 1870s and 1880s. In 1878 Sophia Jex-Blake gave up her connection with the London School of Medicine for Women after losing an application to become its Secretary. She accepted this philosophically and returned to Edinburgh to set up practice. She first opened at 4 Manor Place, Edinburgh in 1878 and then at Bruntsfield Lodge in 1883 where her

175. See Helen Corr, 'The sexual division of labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession' in Humes, Walter M. & Paterson, H, op.cit.

second major contribution was made when Sophia founded the Bruntsfield Hospital for Women and Children in 1886.

Mention has already been made of the opening of a Medical School within the Queen Margaret College in Glasgow. This was matched by a similar development in Edinburgh but only in medicine. Sophia was the main instigator of the setting up of the School of Medicine for Women in Edinburgh in 1886 which was formally opened in Surgeon's Square in Edinburgh in 1887. This was after the Incorporation of the Extra-Mural College in 1885 which did not include women in its new constitution. The personality of Sophia Jex-Blake once again brought tension and conflict.(176)

The running of Sophia Jex-Blake's School and her control over her students was felt by many to be increasingly restrictive. Matters came to a head in 1889 over two incidents. The women had been fortunate to be allowed to receive clinical instruction at Leith Hospital (it will be remembered there were problems with entry to the Royal Infirmary). The rules were however strict. Students were to leave the Hospital at 5pm to avoid over-work. What often happened however was that if an interesting case came in then the women students would remain after this time. The rules were often broken and the Lady Superintendent of the Hospital made attempts to

176. McLaren, Eva Shaw Elsie Inglis. The Woman with the Torch (1920) and Lawrence, Margot, Shadow of Swords (1971)

enforce the rule and told them on one particular occasion to leave which was resented by many of the students who felt their liberty was being restricted. This resentment came to a head when a few weeks later Sophia Jex-Blake intervened in the case of a student, Miss Sinclair, who had been ill and missed sitting an examination. Her doctor wrote to the examiners and she was awarded a certificate. To Sophia Jex-Blake this was an outrage. Recalling her own struggles in her examinations she felt Miss Sinclair was in the wrong and publicly charged her with dishonourable conduct. Two students who had supported Miss Sinclair, Grace and Georgina Cadell were taken before the School's Committee and told they would not be re-admitted because of insubordination. The Cadell sisters sued the School for breach of contract and yet again Sophia Jex-Blake was in the middle of a Court case. One of the Cadell sisters' allies was Elsie Inglis who has already been mentioned as one of the pioneer women doctors of her day. She resented Miss Jex-Blake's treatment of her students and expressed the right to have equal representation over grievances and to have the freedom to speak out against them. Her dissatisfaction led her to leave the Medical school and with the help of her father and the Scottish Association for Medical Education of Women founded a Medical College for Women at 30 Chambers Street, Edinburgh; it charged lower fees and had a more influential committee which in 1891 endowed two wards at the Royal Infirmary to be set

aside for women students. (177) Elsie Inglis in fact completed some of her training in Glasgow but later took a degree from Edinburgh University in 1899.

The opening of the Royal Colleges' triple examination to women in 1886 was an important new development for the medical women. Several commentators have already queried one aspect of the medical women's campaign and that is to question why they made no attempt to ask the Royal Colleges to open their examinations to women. Elizabeth Garrett's rejection in 1860 has already been noted and this may well have been widely known and thus ruled out any further application. (178) It does still seem strange that this was not re-considered as a possible way of women gaining medical qualifications in Scotland. The decision by the Royal Colleges came therefore almost by surprise.

Assessing the achievements

Having examined the evidence of the foundation and development of the higher education for women movement in Scotland in the period from the mid-century it is apparent that considerable strides had been made to further that aim. Indeed the campaigns of the Edinburgh

177. Alexander, Wendy 'The Origins, Education and Destination of early medical graduates of Glasgow University' (unpublished undergraduate dissertation, Department of Economic History, Glasgow University, 1986) Also, Todd., M. Op. cit. page 491-2; Lawrence, Margot, op.cit. page 54-55; Glasgow Herald, 17/11/1987
178. Comrie, J.D. op.cit., p 668

and Glasgow Associations were largely instrumental in the passing of the 1892 Ordinance to admit women to the Scottish Universities.

By the 1880s higher education of women was provided in the four university centres in one form or other but this fell short of admission to university classes and graduation. This level of provision did offer proof of women's abilities to undertake higher education so by the time of the Ordinances in 1892 the case for women had already been won.

The pattern of higher education of women in Scotland has been shown by the activities of the four main associations in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen. Which achieved the most? St Andrews was the smallest but reached the most through the LLA scheme. Glasgow saw the setting up of a women's college. Edinburgh was the earliest to found its association for women but it may well have lost out latterly in terms of progress and there may have been a lack of dynamism or radical thought. A lot depended on the sympathies of the professors. Aberdeen was too late and too tentative.

It might be useful to note the comments on the associations by Mrs Struthers one of the Aberdeen supporters of the women's higher education movement, who

commented on the success of the associations in 1876.

(179) She had some forthright comments on the ladies' educational associations:

'In estimating what these associations have accomplished, it must be remembered that they have occupied a quite anomalous position, detached from the general system of the country, laboriously striving to provide, by voluntary effort, what all experience proves cannot be so maintained, necessarily failing to meet the urgent requirements of the bread-winning class, because of the incomplete, fitful, and expensive character of their instruction, and still more because it was certified by no approved stamp or recognition, and thus ministering chiefly to a vague desire for culture and aspiration after better things amongst those who had both time and money to spare.'

(180)

She did commend the efforts of both Professors and students to have gained the measure of success which was achieved and also paid tribute to the work of the local examinations and related correspondence courses which stimulated the level of secondary education in general. Her view on the award of certificates by the universities was less complimentary, feeling that they were worthless pieces of paper because although they were maintained to equate to the same male standards they had little market value. She viewed the expansion of the LLA at St Andrews with suspicion:

'There is something almost pathetic in the eagerness with which women have realised, in this case, that half a loaf is better than no bread, and have rushed to adorn themselves with the only academic fragment that has been vouchsafed to them, but it must not be inferred that this is enough.' (181)

179. See pages 99-100

180. Struthers, Mrs C., *Op. cit.* (1883) pages 14-15

181. *ibid.* page 16

Mrs Struthers also voiced her fears over a possible new development in St Andrews where ideas were being mooted about setting up one central Women's University there but to her this would have negated all progress to equality of opportunity alongside men not approving of separation in an all female institution.

Louisa Stevenson also made similar cautionary comments about the effectiveness of the ladies associations. In particular she realised the realities of the format of the ELEA. Speaking to the Aberdeen meeting of the NAPSS in 1877 she recognised the impossibility of 'offering to its real students who came to be educated, and not to be amused a systematic and progressive course of training'.⁽¹⁸²⁾ She emphasised the dependence on voluntary cooperation and the lack of funds to enable classes to function irrespective of numbers. She described the ELEA as being 'led by the public' and this really was a crucial point. Only with the setting up of something like the QMC could women's courses be offered irrespective of public demand.

One of the significant comments to be made about the campaigns of the medical women and the history of the ELEA, on which this chapter has concentrated, is the interconnected network of men and women like Professor

182. Louisa Stevenson, 'Higher Education of Women in Scotland' (paper read at NAPSS, Aberdeen, September 1877 and published as a pamphlet)

Masson and Louisa Stevenson campaigning and lending their support to both the medical women and the ELEA. There were also some curious allegiances. Professors Laycock, Christison and Grant were against the medical women but were prepared to give some level of support to the ELEA.

There were essential differences of structure between the two groups. The medical women carried out their campaign in a very public manner. This higher public profile included petitions, memorials and public meetings, frontal attacks on the university authorities in the way of legal action and intense press publicity. They had one single minded aim, namely medical study and graduation. The practice of medicine was dependent on the second part and it was this which aroused the most controversy. The medical women had a forthright outspoken leader in Sophia Jex-Blake. They had obtained a foothold and were trying to wedge the door open. Until the support of the Medical Committee, the medical women were a small band. It became a campaign with urgency and its demands were to urge a resolution of the denial to their right to graduation. It had long term implications and after effects.

The ELEA in contrast seems to have avoided publicity which would cause any adverse comments or damage (eg. the Botany excursions) It was a cautious body, anxious always to carry out its procedures in the correct way. The ELEA also

had quite clear aims and objectives but its development took place outwith the university precincts although it did have professorial support. It was a fully established association with a constitution and executive body, holding general meetings of its members and regular lecture series. It built on its foundation by offering bursaries and certificates of proficiency. It expanded its activities by instituting correspondence classes, a college for the training of teachers and a girls' school. Although it did not as a corporate body appear to be associated with these developments it had been responsible for their foundation and the women who ran the college and school were the same women who were involved in the ELEA. It was a movement with a goal, however long it took, to gain admission to the Scottish Universities but this was not an aim which was pushed along into any great sense of urgency. There were no demands to the university in the period 1869-1872 as witnessed by the Grant-Masson correspondence although university recognition was won. It was an association with a relatively large membership and large student attendances although it might be said that the signatures on the petitions of the medical women may have numbered more and raised women's awareness at a more general level.

The ladies of the ELEA and the Glasgow Association were very much concerned to reflect their own status as respectable and genteel ladies who conformed to Victorian

standards. Yet the very activities of forming educational associations were of course considered to be going beyond the normal Victorian boundaries of respectability. They got away with it but Sophia Jex-Blake went beyond these boundaries, effective perhaps in raising the consciousness and awareness of women's need for higher education and in particular in the field of medical education but she was also too pushy and too forward to operate within these 'boundaries' of respectability and indeed may well have caused some delay in changing attitudes towards legislative change and indirectly hindered the progress of the Ladies' Educational Associations and their affiliation to the universities. It has, however to be noted that the two campaigns did distance themselves from each other. The situation was akin to the differentiation between the suffragists and the suffragettes, the latter going beyond the accepted norms of reforming movements and adopting a more radical approach.

Even between the various associations there were essential differences of approach. The type of provision varied along the two lines of "uncompromising" and "separatist". Queen Margaret College was run exclusively for women and held a separate identity although it did aim for affiliation and the award of degrees. In the early days of the Association classes were held in the university classrooms but the opening of the Queen Margaret College

emphasised the separation from the university. It was viewed by some as the best alternative to university provision but as we shall see in the next chapter its separation continued even after the award of degrees to women. On the other hand the correspondence classes of the Glasgow Association included some men students.

In Edinburgh, from the very beginning, the ELEA was nearer to the 'uncompromising' view of equality of admission to the universities at all costs but again an element of realistic compromise had to be accepted and although they accepted the University certificates for women as a half measure they were by no means satisfied. Admission and integration were thus top priorities.

The Ladies Associations at Aberdeen and St Andrews Universities were less articulate on these matters but talk of setting up a separate college at St Andrews exclusively for women instead of admission to the universities was not favoured.

Thus the provision of higher education for women followed the principle course of offering the same courses as men (rather than any diluted version) but these were separate geographically from the men. Therefore the Scottish pattern was somewhere between the "uncompromising " and the "separatist" viewpoints. This lack of any clear division reflected the realities of waiting for

legislation in the 1880s and expectancy of changes in the Scottish University system made the women prepared to accept the forms of higher education which had developed without any moves to define any further the stance they would take towards either separate provision or further pressure towards total integration.

Another point to note is the role of the Universities and the government in these movements for change. The Scottish Universities Commission failed to give the women what they wanted. There was unnecessary delay in the 1880s in instituting legislation to admit women. The Enabling Act was limited to medicine and was not viewed in Scotland as a useful means of making progress, given the experience with Edinburgh University and the signs of opposition from Glasgow during the passing of the Act. It may also be that by the Scottish Universities Report of 1878 some of the urgency had been lost because of the very success of the women's schemes which seemed to supply the wants of women for higher education but which in turn may have hindered the achievement of the real demands, namely university admission and graduation.

The Associations had clearly demonstrated that women were entitled to equality in higher education. This demonstration effect was the strongest reason for the passing of Ordinance 18 of the Universities Scotland Act 1889. It still took the Commissioners three years to

prepare the Ordinance and during its deliberations it was helped by many of the protagonists who had campaigned throughout the previous twenty years or so and as we shall see in the following chapter, Janet Galloway, Professor Masson, Louisa Stevenson and Sophia Jex-Blake were all consulted by the Commissioners regarding the state of the higher education of women in Scotland.

Thus the development of provision for the university education of women in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century owes its success largely due to the contribution of individuals. While the 1889 Act may have legislated for the necessary change, the real reforms were carried out by a group of men and women devoted to the cause of women's education. Not only did they educate public opinion but they also demonstrated the abilities of women to receive higher education with none of the drastic side-effects so feared by the Victorians. It is therefore important to acknowledge the role of individuals like Professor Masson, Professor Edward Caird, Professor John Struthers, Mrs Crudelius, Mrs Campbell, Janet Galloway, Louisa Stevenson and Sophia Jex-Blake, to name a few, in achieving the opening of the Scottish Universities to women. It was also individual effort and the responses of these pioneers which helped to establish and integrate women students into the Scottish university system in the 1890s.

Chapter Two

Integration and Acceptance : the first two decades.

The passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act in 1889 heralded a change in university policy towards the admission of women. As we have already seen that change was largely due to the efforts of a group of pioneering women and enlightened professors who campaigned for the admission of women and demonstrated through the educational associations that women had indeed the academic and physical abilities to cope with higher education.

Although the legislation was passed in 1889 it was another three years before an Ordinance was passed which admitted women to instruction and graduation. The first section of this chapter will examine the chronology of its introduction as far as women were concerned and will narrate briefly how the formal integration of women into the Scottish Universities was achieved.

Integration from 1892 was in effect a twofold process and the remainder of the chapter will examine the levels of integration both at a formal level by way of matriculation, class organisation and graduation and at the informal level in terms of integration into the social and corporate life of the universities.

The chronology of this integration covers the period up to 1914 when women students permeated the formal and social structures of university life. The Scottish Universities by the Act of 1889 underwent reform in organisation, curricula and degree structure. The late 1880s and 1890s also saw in a general way the expansion of student social life and in particular the setting up of Student Representative Councils or Committees (SRC), student magazines and student Unions. This period up to 1914 therefore was one when the arrival of women students was not the only change taking place. Indeed the internal changes within the universities were to some extent conditioned by national social and economic change which impinged on university life. The greatest of these was the impact of the First World War which will be seen in the following chapter to have been a significant watershed in the history of women students' progress in relation to their numerical strength and the completion of the process of integration and acceptance.

In this chapter then the processes of integration and acceptance are central themes as far as women were concerned and these themes will be explored in detail at each of the four Scottish Universities, revealing the variation in interpretation of the methods of educating university women. It will become apparent through the narrative that the whole issue of the form which this integration would take was crucial. Although much of the debate had taken place prior to 1892 the working out of

the Ordinances in practice and the informal infiltration of women students reflected the contemporary viewpoints about the type of higher education offered to women and its relationship to the existing male educational structure.

The formalities of Integration

The Universities(Scotland) Act was the culmination of many years of deliberation and in the words of one writer, the result of a 'generation of impact on public opinion'. (1) Its relevance for women on first impressions seemed limited since the Act did not legislate for women's admission but merely empowered the University Commissioners appointed under the Act to pass Ordinances governing the admission of women and their instruction and graduation. The admission of women therefore was not seen as a central reform as far as the legislators were concerned. The introduction of separate Science faculties and degree reorganisation, the institution of new Chairs and lectureships, the incorporation of the SRC's, a new summer session, a new Preliminary examination and reformed Arts curriculum were all higher up the agenda.

However, given the acceptance of the principle of women's rights to university education the expectations of change were not diminished and the Commissioners worked towards

1. Shepherd, Nan, op.cit. page 172

preparation of draft Ordinances. They had to consider the different levels of higher educational provision already available to women through the Associations and Queen Margaret College. While the QMC offered a full course structure, St Andrews for example only awarded the LLA without instruction. Indeed a memorial was sent from the Senatus at St Andrews in February 1890 about this very point and seeking professorial classes for women. (2)

A Memorial was sent from the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women to the Scottish Universities Commission in March 1890 expressing the need to find a solution to their demands for university admission, whether it be in mixed or separate classes and emphasising the need to get some provision at all costs. The memorial went on to mention the precedents of women's higher education as witnessed at Oxford, Cambridge and in the USA. In the view of the Association the proposal to set up a national ladies college was 'ridiculous' and even any separate provision made within the universities meant doubling the teaching resources. They also thought it unrealistic to have women coming to the universities at different times or sessions of the year. (3) These then were some of the responses to the proposals which were

2. General Report of Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889 (1900), xxv, Minutes p.200
3. Professor Knight at St Andrews University had advocated making use of the non-teaching summer months. Knight, Wm. 'The Higher Education of women (with special reference to the St Andrews University LLA title and Diploma'. There were also various suggestions about setting up a women's college or university.

circulating at that time and the EAUEW was keen that its views be put on record. (4) The Commissioners also received communication from Queen Margaret College. It had been the College's desire to seek affiliation to Glasgow University in anticipation of forthcoming ordinances giving full admission. This was in terms of Section 15/1 of the 1889 Act. Miss Galloway on behalf of the College Council had applied to the University Court to seek affiliation but had not been successful and the Court had referred the decision to the Scottish University Commissioners. The Commissioners in turn declined to deal with the question, either until university consent had been given to their request or until they considered the question of women's admission. (5)

During June 1891 the Commission sat to consider the medical education of women with representation from Sophia Jex-Blake and Miss Galloway and also from Professors Young and T H Bryce from QMC. They also received evidence on the general admission of women from Professor Masson and Louisa Stevenson from the EAUEW and a contingent from St Andrews University including Professors Knight, Butler and Roberts. Further evidence was taken from other university representatives in July. In October 1891 the Commission intimated to Miss Galloway that there was no general rule regarding affiliation, each case being

4. GUA/ QMC/20108 memorial from the EAUEW, 31/3/1890

5. General Report op. cit. page 125 and GUA/QMC/20046

decided on its own merits. The affiliation issue as we shall see was to become an important issue for QMC. (6)

Amid all these deliberations and representations the compilation of a draft Ordinance to admit women was making progress and in November 1891 the draft was published and passed the following June, 1892. Ordinance No 18, General No 9 gave the Scottish Universities the powers to admit women to instruction and graduation in the faculties of Arts, Science and Medicine. There was some dissension from this. Sir Wm Thomson felt each university should be free to decide to give degrees to women in all faculties. (7) The key question was whether 'able' meant 'willing'. Apart from some variations at the local university level, the Scottish Universities opened their doors to women.

Integration at Aberdeen University

As early as 1890, the General Council at Aberdeen had expressed itself in favour of women. In 1892 the Senatus, Court and SRC followed suit. When the Ordinance reached the statute books on 28th June 1892, the policy towards women at Aberdeen had been laid down. Classes were opened to women from the outset. Aberdeen had under the Universities Act of 1858 opted not to have English

6. See page 176.

7. General Report op. cit. page 216

Literature as a separate compulsory subject and it had been included in the Language and Rhetoric course unlike the other three universities. In June 1892 however, Professor Minto announced he would commence a series of 100 lectures in English Literature qualifying as a separate course for the Arts degree. This was a useful spur to the provision of instruction for women students and in October 1892 some eleven women attended these classes as private students as they were not attending the full undergraduate course. It was not until 1894 that genuine fully matriculated lady students entered King's College. The Senatus mused on a title for its new entrants, uncertain whether to call them female, women or lady. (8) They chose the third option.

Meanwhile the University of Aberdeen saw its first women graduates capped in 1898. There were four of them and the first woman graduate at Aberdeen, by virtue of alphabetic order was Isabel Asher (later Mrs Caesar). Two of the four received honours degrees in classics. The first medical graduate was Myra Mackenzie in 1900. The Ordinance regarding medical women had provided for extra-mural tuition but as the sole woman medical student she in fact attended mixed classes. Aberdeen therefore could boast of its opening all its faculties to women from the outset

(8) Shepherd, Nan, op.cit. page 175

although one could qualify this by saying that there was a two year delay before women were fully matriculated students. In general the women students did well in their studies and headed many of the class lists. The magazine, Alma Mater was full of references to the arrival of the women students, some in jibe and some raising more serious questions about how the women would compete with the men and indeed what effect it would have on the men themselves. Edward W Watt, a Bajan (first year student) in 1894 recalled:

'I think the underlying doubt beneath all this discussion was whether the ladies could play their part in university life, since that life had modelled itself thorough the ages according to the supposed needs and capacities of men..... I am afraid the attitude of the average male in those days was one of humorous tolerance imposed upon the underlying conviction of male superiority' (9)

This is a crucial point. Women had to integrate themselves into a male dominated institution. In a later chapter an assessment will be made about how far this integration by the women was a duplication of the already present male social structure or a definite stamp of feminine consciousness. For the present discussion the general levels of integration are sufficient to consider.

Integration of women students at the informal social level occurred with little friction. There was no inheritance from the ALEA days of any club or society which could be

9. Watt, Edward, 'A Bajan of 1894', AUR vol 29 1941-2, page 185

used as the foundation of any new women's union or similar association for social gatherings. From the outset they appeared to have attended the university societies and one of the early women graduates, Rachel Annand, read a paper on Tennyson to the Literary Society during session 1894-1895. (10)

Initially, the common room was shared with the men students and there appears to have been some kind of Union opened at this time although details are not clear. The University Calendars do not record a separate Women's Union until 1925 which opened at 52 Skene Terrace, Aberdeen to provide a recreation and reading room and limited board and residence. Attempts were made to open a Hall or residence for women but this had failed by 1899 and Aberdeen was distinct among the four Scottish Universities in not providing residential facilities until much later.

As well as joining some of the men's societies, the women struck out on their own and in the first decade of their arrival several societies including a Women's Debating Society, a Dramatic Society, a Hockey Club, a Medical Society, Swimming club and Women's Suffrage Society were founded. (11)

10. Watt T., op. cit., page 185

11. Aberdeen University Calendars passim.

St Andrews University

When St Andrews opened its doors to women in 1892 it already had two spheres of feminine presence, one through its LLA diploma holders and the other through the presence of women students at the affiliated University College in Dundee (instituted in 1883 as part of the university extension movement and with help from Professor Knight) (12) The LLA scheme continued at St Andrews but there was a noticeable decline in the number of Scottish students.

The formalities of women's admission were straight forward with the university opening its doors to women students in Arts, Science and Medicine (although medicine itself was a new departure). There was no medical school but this was soon founded and in 1898 the Conjoint Medical School was opened in new buildings in Dundee with access to the wards of the Royal Infirmary there. Tension over the issue of the incorporation of University College into the University overshadowed university events in the 1890s until it was resolved under the aegis of the Royal Commission in 1897 and later legislation.

There was, from the passing of the new regulations, a steady stream of new women students. There seems to have been little discrimination or rivalry between the men and

12. Cant, op. cit. page 128-9

women students apart from the normal ribbing in the university magazine, "College Echoes", about 'sweet girl graduates', and jokes about the women being non-smokers, not supporting the nocturnal serenades or doffing their trenchers to the janitor.(13) Acceptance of women students by the men was not an apparent problem.

Bursaries were made available to girls wishing to study medicine under the Taylour-Thomson bequest which specifically mentioned bursaries to be available for men and women. This equality of opportunity was not always available. Elizabeth Macdonald was denied a scholarship in English which her academic performance had earned because it was not open to women.

One of the first women graduates at St Andrews was Agnes Forbes Blackadder who graduated MA in session 1894-95. Other Arts graduates in the following session were Mary Ann Bathie, Katherine Chambers, Mary Jane Christie and Ella G Lumsden. The early medical graduates were Jessie Balsillie, Alice Jean Donaldson and Elizabeth Macdonald in 1905. The earliest Honours Arts graduates were Mary S G Burnet who received a 1st class degree in classics and Margaret Murray who received a first class degree in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in session 1897-8.

13. College Echoes, 1892, page 31

Notable for their numbers and achievements were the eight daughters of the Reverend Doctor John Campbell of Kirkcaldy who all graduated from St Andrews. (14)

The levels of informal integration, however, were less straightforward. The problems were less to do with the attitudes of the university authorities or the men students and more to do with the need for women to establish some form of corporate social life and recognised female presence. Certainly the exclusion of women from the organisations already set up by the men like the men's Union and SRC did cause some resentment but it seems that the women were prepared to accept these levels of exclusion once the classes and degrees had been opened. The problem lay more with the women themselves. The geographical situation of St Andrews meant that it had fewer home based students than say Glasgow or Edinburgh. It therefore attracted students from a much wider area including England. Many of its students were therefore 'residential' but traditionally this had not been in halls of residence as we know them today but in 'bunks' or lodgings supplied by the many St Andrews landladies. In addition its links with Dundee meant there was a

14. St Andrews University Calendars and recollections of Miss M Osman (Tape no 23) . The Campbell girls were Phyllis(MA ord) Jessie(MBChB) Mabel(MA MBChB), Lena (MBChB), Daisy (MA), Anne MBChB), Kate(MBChB) and Ishbel (BSc). A group of sisters attending university in tandem was by no means an unusual feature in the Scottish Universities and several examples have been found of two or more sisters attending about the same time. This might have been the result of enlightened paternal views or a 'safety in numbers' policy.

contingent of students who travelled between the two centres. With the arrival of women students, accommodation became a key issue. It revolved around the provision of a Hall of Residence for women. When this was provided the women students became divided into three camps; these were the 'travelling' girls, the 'town' girls and the 'hall' girls. This labelling of the different types of students in itself seems innocent enough but behind it lay deeper divisions.

It had been one of Professor Knight's dreams to provide through the profits of the LLA scheme a hall of residence for women students and to institute bursaries for women. In the women's first session in 1892-3 temporary residential accommodation was set up at 79 North Street at a cost of £25 per session. Professor Knight began an appeal to raise subscriptions for a Hall of Residence. A total of £5000 was raised by 1894, £2000 from the Pfieffer Trust and the remainder from subscriptions and LLA funds. (15) Temporary Hall facilities were offered in the university at Argyle Lodge until the new building was ready. When the Hall had opened Principal Donaldson and Professor Knight had identified the group for whom the new residence had been built:

'The class who may be expected chiefly to avail themselves of such University education and residence are those girls who intend to enter either the teaching or the Medical profession and who often come from the remote Manes and school-houses of our country districts' (16)

15. Smart, op. cit., page 26

16. Private Circular re University Hall, St Andrews University Muniments (a) UY377B

It is apparent from the many comments and recollections of the Hall that it attracted girls who were better-off, many of them English, who came neither from the country manse or school-house. The fees were such, compared to the costs of lodgings, that it priced itself out of reach of many typical Scottish students.

In 1897, University Hall opened on a three and a half acre site at Rathelpie on the outskirts of St Andrews with twenty students. The Hall was superintended by a lady Warden, Louisa Lumsden, whose name was already well known in higher education circles.(17) Louisa Lumsden was attracted by Professor Knight's belief that a Scottish Girton could be developed at University Hall St Andrews with integral classes and tutorials on the collegiate system, much along the lines of her Girton experience; she had been appointed warden in 1895 at Argyll Lodge. When the new Hall was opened in 1897 it received in the words of Louisa Lumsden, 'a lukewarm reception' from Principal Donaldson who in his opening speech said:

'Those students who had the old independent Scottish spirit would of course go into lodgings while those who liked would prefer conventual rule under Miss Lumsden'(18)

17. Lumsden, Louisa, Yellow Leaves, (1933), page 119
Louisa Lumsden was one of the first five Girton pioneers under Emily Davies. She had attended the ELEA classes before going to Girton. She was instrumental in its foundation and first headmistress of St Leonards School, St Andrews, set up under the new type of girls private boarding school. She was described by many as 'autocratic'..

18. Quoted in Smart, op. cit., page 26

There were problems according to Miss Lumsden in getting residents and she described her period as warden as 'five stormy years' with friction, jealousy, discontent and opposition. The personality of the Warden was crucial to the overall running of the Hall and indeed to the image it portrayed to the rest of the women students.

The source of these tensions was the relationship between the warden and hall girls and the town and travelling girls. The existence of the Hall and what it stood for was one issue but on top of that there was the further issue of setting up further tiers of social life for women and how it related to the University Hall.

The majority of women were either town or travelling girls, 'either because they were independent in spirit or because of the slenderness of their purses'. (19) For Elizabeth Macdonald who began her Arts studies in 1896 and travelled initially from Dundee, it was a combination of both:

'...the very name of University Hall with its presiding warden suggested to Scottish ears some kind of superiority' (20)

There were few facilities for travelling girls who did not have their own digs to go back to after classes. Principal Donaldson allowed use of the Hebdomadar's room as a waiting room for those travelling girls who had arrived from Dundee on the early train. (21)

19. Waterston, Ann, 'Town Students Association', Alumnus Chronicle, vol 37, page 23

20. Bryson, Elizabeth, Look Back in Wonder (1979) This is Elizabeth Macdonald's very full autobiographical account of her early years in Dundee and St Andrews.

21. Waterston, op. cit., p 24

Lunches were provided for the Hall girls in the town because of its distance from the university classes. The travelling girls were invited by Miss Lumsden along with the town girls to join with the hall girls for lunches. This provoked some tension as Elizabeth Macdonald explained in her recollections:

'There was hesitation and questioning. Why? For me the answer was easy. I couldn't afford ninepence for lunch and was not eager to have my financial nakedness exposed... The Town Girls on the whole saw no need for 'common lunches', they were enjoying the freedom of their own 'digs'. ' (22)

She was asked to speak privately with Miss Lumsden and stated her case, realising that the issue was deeper:

'We were in some instinctive way fighting for our own independence, for our own way of living. The residential system of private schools under a Head was alien to the Scot....we were used to co-education and instinctively disliked segregation... I could smell money values creeping in to my Paradise. This was the first time I was aware of class distinction...' (23)

To parents, the Hall was an ideal residence offering comfortable accommodation, regular meals and a Warden to supervise the students and act as chaperone. The lifestyle at Hall was strictly regulated in terms of visitors, outings and mealtimes. Rule sixteen is of particular interest and indicates the influence of the warden:

'No student resident in University Hall may become a member of any Club, Association, or society of any kind (whether within the University or in the town of St Andrews) without the consent of the Warden.' (24)

22. Bryson, E., op. cit. page 108

23. ibid.

24. StAU Muniments (a)UY3778

Many English girls stayed in the Hall and their manner and upbringing may well have perpetuated the impressions of superiority given to the other women. For some it may even have been viewed as a finishing school. 'The Hall looked down on you' recalled one early student. (25) Another student recalled that 'there wasn't much coming and going between 'town' and 'hall'; in fact there was quite a lot of rivalry when I went up'. (26)

Communal life for women students was fostered from the beginning but in a separate sphere. One of the first associations for women to be set up was the Women Students' Debating Society in 1894 to 'give opportunity for the practice of public speaking'. Principal Donaldson offered his room in United College for the use of women students and a Reading Club was formed. The Reading Room committee had then agreed to form a Debating Society in connection with the Club. This was in October 1894. Significantly in 1894 it held a debate on 'bunks versus halls of residence' (27) The Reading Room committee oversaw both the Reading Club and the Debating Society. In 1897 the two activities were separated into two societies. It was about this time that the Debating Society was transferred to University Hall:

'...and it became clear that Miss Lumsden, with the best intentions in the world, no doubt, wanted to control the activities of all the women students; but she failed. The spirit of independence was too strong' (28)

25. Mrs. Menzies Campbell, transcript no 14, 17/7/1979

26. Miss Ethel Lakeman, transcript no 8, 31/7/1978

27. St AU Muniments, (a) UY 906, Women Students Teading Room Minutes 1894-99

28. Waterston A, op. cit. page 24-25

In the same year the Town Students' Association was formed. As the number of town and travelling girls grew it was felt necessary to have some central group. The Logic class-room was used for ordinary meetings and socials were held in the Hebdomadar's room. The Town Students' Association served to act as a focal point of the apparent division between the Hall girls and the others.

During session 1898-9 it appears a plan was made to use university premises at College Gate to open a union for Hall girls and unattached students and this was at the instigation of Miss Lumsden. The Town students seem to have taken offence. They wanted a real union on an equal footing with no private body behind it, and to be run and governed by a committee of women students. A mass meeting was held and the justice of the issue was seemingly recognised by the hall girls who formed a committee with the town girls. Miss Lumsden refused to see the committee. What happened after this is unclear. The College Gate premises were opened as an informal women's union and attempts were made to start raising funds. (29)

Miss Lumsden resigned from University Hall in 1899 after a dispute with the Hall governing committee and she was succeeded by Miss Frances H Melville whose personality was more suited to the post of Warden. She was in her own way another true pioneer of the women's education movement. (30)

29. College Echoes, vol x, 1898-9 page 13-14

30. Frances Melville was an early Arts graduate from Edinburgh. See below page 166-7, 178 and Appendix 6

The formal opening of a women's union was achieved when Mrs Carnegie, wife of the famous Scottish benefactor Andrew, donated money to open a women's union in 1904. (Her husband was elected Lord Rector in 1902 and elected for a second term in 1905.) The Women's Union was run by a Governing Board of professors, professors' wives, the warden, 5 students and the president of the SRC. There was also a house-committee of 7 students and three ladies. (31) The first President of the Women's Union in St Andrews was Agnes Marion Moodie MA, a St Andrews graduate who was studying for a second degree in science.

The social life of women students was not dampened by these underlying problems and many societies flourished both mixed and separate including the Celtic Society, the Musical Society, the Education Society and a Chemical Society as well as the political associations of which there were women's branches. The women set up their own recreation activities and formed an Athletic Club in January 1902 which was a merger of the Golf and Hockey Clubs. There were also dances at the Hall and in the Union. (32)

31. St Andrews University Calendars passim.

32. See chapter 4 for a discussion of the social experiences of women at the Scottish Universities.

At University College, Dundee the atmosphere was less fraught and informal integration of women into the corporate student life there was easier to achieve, being in effect already open to women. The residential issue did not arise. There was some duplication of the societies, committees and facilities because of the geographical segregation.

Prior to the 1890s University College, Dundee had only two societies noted in its Calendar. One was the Dundee University College Students' Union which was so called but operated more as a debating society than as a club. It later changed its name to a Debating Society. In 1887 there was also formed an Economic Society for Women which met to consider social and economic questions and also corresponded with a similar group in Glasgow. In March 1899, a University College Students' Executive was formed to represent the students' views within the College and a Miss Philip was its Vice-President. A Christian Union was also started in 1900. From 1900 there was an expansion in student activities reflecting the closer links with St Andrews University.

A Bazaar was held in 1903 to raise funds for a students' union. While the men at St Andrews had had a union since 1888 nothing had been set up by 1903 for the Dundee men or women. The fund-raising was successful and property was rented from the College Council to be used as a union for

both men and women. It was formally opened in October 1904. The Union had separate entrances for men and women and separate facilities inside. Separate stairways were specially constructed to avoid accidental meetings of the opposite sexes. Elizabeth Macdonald, referred to earlier, was the Union's first Vice-President, in effect, first President of the Women's Union there. The forerunner of the union was the Dundee Women Students' Association of which she was also President. Elizabeth Macdonald had already had considerable experience behind her having served as SRC representative of the Women Students' Debating Society, was briefly on the committee of the Town Students' Association and when she had commenced her medical studies in Dundee had been elected to be the women's representative on the Dundee committee of the SRC. The early 1900s saw a revival in Dundee of 'The College magazine'. A French Club, a Christian Union and Literary and Debating societies were also started. (33)

By 1914 a pattern of student life had emerged in this two centre university which encompassed the academic side where integration was more or less total and the social side where the women tended to be separate in organisation and identity.

33. Bryson, op. cit., pages 184-7, ST A.U. Calendars and University College, Dundee Calendars.

The formal and informal levels of integration by women students at both Glasgow and Edinburgh after 1892 were quite different from the stories of Aberdeen and St Andrews. Not only were they larger institutions and situated in the central geographical belt but having led the movement for the higher education of women in Scotland both Edinburgh and Glasgow had laid strong foundations on which the new generation of women students could build. One of the central themes which will emerge was one of continuity, not only of the Associations' roles but also of the pioneering personalities.

Edinburgh University

The EAUEW continued to play a central supportive role in the development of university education for the new women students at Edinburgh University. Its support largely contributed to the successful integration of the women students after 1892 and ensured a smooth transition to full university life.

The Senate Minutes of 22nd October 1892 record the passing of the Ordinance admitting women and their acceptance of its implications. However there were some qualifications. Integration at a formal level was straightforward as far as the Arts and Science faculties were concerned; 70 women matriculated in 1892 plus 50 music and fine arts women students who were non-matriculated. In 1893 68 women

matriculated in Arts and 4 in Science plus 78 non-matriculated students. In Divinity women were admitted to graduation under the terms of Ordinance No 18 but as the Ministry itself banned women there were few students although a legacy of interest from Professor Charteris's Biblical Criticism classes at the EAUEW did exist. The Law faculty was also open but it was not yet publicly accepted that the legal profession was an appropriate career for women.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, the backlash from the stormy years of the Jex-Blake period discriminated most against the medical women students. The regulations for Edinburgh permitted the graduation of medical women but limited the extent of their instruction so that women were still attending classes at the Medical College for Women in Chambers Street and the School of Medicine for Women at Surgeon's Hall. This was a direct result of the legacy of conflict from the Jex-Blake episodes and the fact that the two women's Medical Schools were already established and providing a medical curricula. The first graduate under the new regulations was Alexandra Geddes (Mrs Chalmers Watson) in 1896. This discrimination against the medical women students had repercussions for the women when they tried to integrate into the social life of the university. (34) Only gradually did the regulations relax

34. see below pages 168-9

and it was not until 1916 that equality of matriculation and instruction was achieved. (35)

The impact of women students on the University of Edinburgh was immediate. On 13th April 1893 the 'first eight ladies' graduated in Arts. They were Lillias Maitland who achieved a first-class honours degree in Philosophy and Flora Philip, Amelia Hutchison Stirling, Maud E Newbigin, Mary B Douie, Margaret Nairn, Frances H Simson and Grace Fairley (in absentia). (36) They were all former students of the EAUEW. This early graduation was entirely due to the success of the EAUEW classes which had been carefully modelled on those of the Arts curriculum. In the opening of the University of Edinburgh to women, the Commissioners had recommended that the Association's examinations and certificates should be considered the same as those of the university. Some women therefore had already some, if not all, the sufficient passes for the MA degree. These graduations proved that women could and should receive access to higher education.

35. In 1916 Mrs Chalmers Watson and Miss Sarah E S Mair (as chairman of the Edinburgh Hospital and Hospice for women and children) offered on behalf of the medical women to pay £4000 to the University Court to defray any costs incurred to facilitate introduction of women into the classes of the medical faculty, a move which was being considered by a sub-committee of the University Court. (Glasgow Herald, 26th July 1916)

(36) Boog Watson, W.N. 'The first eight ladies', UEJ, vol 23 1967-8, passim

The women students themselves also made immediate impact on the university. The men students revealed their early reactions in the pages of the 'Student' :

'The present session is going to be one of terribly hard work. Girls have entered our University and they mean to carry everything before them. Two young ladies have matriculated who are said to possess brains three times the size of an ordinary Chrystal.' (37)

There were satirical comments about where they should sit in the lectures, whether they should leave the classroom first and there was also a warning to other men students to look to their laurels as the women were doing rather better than expected in some of the examinations:

'The Professors evidently believe in the old adage "ladies first". In one of the Arts classes, a lady has come out of an exam streets ahead of the other men' (38)

There was a fictitious letter from an undergraduate to her mother saying she had a headache, she did not know what to wear and she 'should like to marry a professor'. (39) Many of these flippant entries in the Student magazine were obviously just that but behind it lay some concern by the men about how their position in the university was going to change and revealed also ignorance about the capabilities of women to cope with higher education.

37. The Student, October 1892, volume VII,2 page 31. There was always concern and satire about women's brains being smaller than men's. 'Chrystal' is a reference to Professor Chrystal.

38. The Student, 1892, vol vii, page 74

39. ibid., page 177

The EAUEW viewed the opening of the University to women as a major achievement and the culmination of all their efforts but it did not immediately feel their work was done. During the years of the Association's classes they had provided facilities for their students on its premises which included a reading room and a library, well stocked through numerous donations. In 1892 they perceived a great need for similar facilities within the university.

The rooms in Shandwick Place were closed and a five roomed flat taken near the university at No 8 Hope Park Square. There the early origins of the women's union took root with a common room, library and meals provided by a housekeeper. These rooms became the focal point for the women students and in its first year 42 women became members. The university only offered a drab cloakroom in the Old Quadrangle as a waiting area between classes. One end of the library was used as a reading/common room area for women until the men complained about their chatter.(40)

These new premises at Hope Park Square became not only a meeting place for individuals but for societies and associations formed by the women in the first two or three years. The Association did not make any charge to the new societies and defrayed much of the cost. Thus the EAUEW played a key role in setting up the beginnings

40. Boog Watson, W. N., 'The story of the Women Students' Union', UEJ, 1970, page 187

of a corporate social life for women akin to that already available to the men through their SRC, Union and societies.

It has to be stressed that although the university opened its doors to women the informal tiers of social and communal university life did not automatically act likewise. It also has to be noted at this point that there was no great demand from the women that it should be so. Later in this thesis we shall look more closely at the relationship of the women's social life at university compared to the men's and examine the consciousness of the women towards forming their own image and identity in the university.(41) It is sufficient here to record the general changes at Edinburgh which affected the social life of women students in these first few years.

One of the earliest societies set up by the women students was the Women's Debating Society (EUWDS) which held its first meeting on 22nd November 1893. Its aim was to encourage the art of public speaking. The most important men's societies by tradition were the Debating ones so it is significant that the women chose to set up this one first. Its early debates were attended by an average of 15 to 20 women with a recorded membership of 31 in session 1893-4. Miss Frances H Melville was its first president, Miss A C Sutherland was vice-president and Miss Katrina Miller was Secretary.(42)

41. See Chapter 5.

42. EUL Gen 160-163 Minutes of the Women's Debating Society, 1893-1914.

Its topics for debate were wide ranging, the serious mingling with the more light-hearted. "The Student" reported one debate having the spurious motion, 'should potatoes be boiled in their skins' and as its reporting of their meetings seemed to continually be derisive the women complained and threatened to cease sending notices to the magazine because of its low tone. (43)

To represent women students' viewpoints and grievances the formation of the WDS was followed swiftly by the setting up of a Women's Representative Committee in 1895 which held its first meeting on 6th February. In fact the formation of the WRC arose out of the WDS meetings. A token subscription for membership was collected from the women students in the classrooms. (44) The Minutes of the Women's Representative Committee reveal that its concerns were varied; from discussing the nails of the seats in the Reading Room causing damage to their clothes to their demands to get all scholarships open to women. In addition the WRC petitioned Parliament in 1898 about the opening of all university Bursaries, prizes and scholarships to women. The Chairman was Miss A C Sutherland and its first Secretary Miss Frances H Melville who were also office-bearers in the Debating Society.

43. The Student, vol 8, 1894, p 300 and WDS Minutes, op. cit., 2/11/1894 and 24/1/1896

44. Minutes of the Women's Representative Committee, 1895-1899 Box 2, Masson Hall papers. The women deposited the WRC minutes in Masson Hall when the Women's SRC committee was formed.

In 1899 after a long campaign the WRC was dissolved and was replaced by a women's committee of the SRC with much closer links to the full SRC, including female representation on it and thus a reflection of the moves to closer integration with the men's societies. The first convener of the Women's committee of the SRC was Miss Ethelwyn Lemon. (45)

Common to both the WDS and the WRC committees were concerns about the position of the medical women. The Senatus would only recognise the WDS if it confined its membership to the matriculated women and the music students. As the medical women were deemed to be non-matriculated their position was very tenuous. Similarly the WRC were vexed about the same problem of recognition of the medical women by the university authorities who were keen to impose certain conditions on them and in addition there were other stipulations that no past students could be members of the committee and that there should be restrictions on the representation from other women's societies. (46)

The medical women who were only allowed to visit the WDS in the category of 'visitor' thus generated towards their own separate grouping and formed their own Medical Women's Debating and Literary Society which only merged with the

45. Ethelwyn Lemon MA became well known to many students though her private coaching to women university students. EU Student Handbook 1906-7 and Mrs Milligan's interview (tape no 6)

46. WRC Minutes passim.

WDS in 1910.(47) They formed their own Edinburgh University Women's Medical Society in October 1904 and also the Women's Medical College Christian Union. A hall of residence, Muir Hall, was opened for the medical women in George Square, Edinburgh in 1900.

Other societies started by the women in the period prior to 1914 included a Women's Christian Union, a Cycling Club(1897) and an Athletic Club. They also formed women's branches of the Conservative and Liberal Associations. Joint debates with some of the men's societies were also held.

The separation of activities from the men was not total. Many of the previously male only societies were opened to women and in the spirit of the 1890s many new societies were started which were mixed from the start. The Musical Society was one of the first to open its membership to women. Some of the religious societies were also happy to have women members, including the United Presbyterian and Free Church Societies. There was too the beginning of new societies like the Caithness and the Dumfries and Galloway Societies aimed at students whose homes originated in these counties. The growth of the Arts faculty and the related growth in the number of Arts students led to the formation of French, German, Education and Fabian societies in the early 1900s.

47. Student Handbooks passim

The EAUEW, continuing its aim to provide facilities for women students, also played a central role in the setting up of a hall of residence for women. Edinburgh University had a tradition of halls of residence going back to the sixteenth century although the more modern concept dated from 1887.(48) The alternative to halls was lodgings in the city but these were not viewed as being safe and respectable for young lady students although it has to be said that many of them had to go into lodgings because it was all they could afford. This was in contrast to St Andrews where lodgings for the town girls were viewed more favourably.

As an experiment the EAUEW rented rooms at 457 Lawnmarket, part of a six storey tenement called Burns' Land in the city. Opened in June 1894 and named Crudelius Hall after the Association's founder, the halls provided a room with light, service and use of the common-room for a cost of 6/6d to 10/6d per week and, with the addition of full board, for about 15/6d. This proved successful and two years later another residence Crudelius House was opened at 6 Archibald Place.

However Miss Houldsworth and Miss Louisa Stevenson had begun moves in 1892 to set up a university hall of residence for women students and suggested it be named after Professor Masson whose great contribution to the

48. Pinkerton, R M 'Of Chambers and Communities: student residence at the University of Edinburgh 1583-1983', in Donaldson, Gordon, (ed), Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983 (1983), page 116

higher education of women they wished to recognise. A sub-committee of the EAUEW had launched an appeal in 1894 and subscribers were sought. In fact Masson Hall Incorporated Ltd was formed in 1894 under the Companies Act 1862 to administer the appeal.(48) Significantly many more women than men supported the appeal and included not only former students and members of the Association but also more well-known figures like Emily Davies, Mrs Garrett Anderson and Louisa Lumsden. Louisa Stevenson herself gave £1000 which was a sizeable contribution. Other subscribers included some well-known Scottish businessmen like Sir Thomas Coats, Sir Charles Tennant, Sir John Usher and Sir Robert Pullar.(49) A £2000 grant from the Pfieffer Bequest helped the fund-raising and by January 1896 £4000 had been raised. The two Crudelius residences were given up and the money used for the new residence.

The members of its first committee of management were the Marchioness of Lothian (President), Professor Masson (Vice-President), Sarah E S Mair (Honorary Treasurer) and Louisa Stevenson (Honorary Secretary). Premises were purchased at 31 George Square in the 'new quadrangle' area of the university and in the autumn of 1897 Masson Hall was opened.

48. EAUEW Gen1877/7 Masson Hall Papers and scrapbook including pamphlet entitled 'Education and Graduation of women at Edinburgh University. The Masson Hall of Residence for women students. (n.d.)

49. Ibid., List of Subscribers and memorandum and Articles of Association.

The theme of continuity followed in the appointment of the warden. The Committee stipulated that she was to be a lady graduate who understood Scottish university life. It was most appropriate therefore that Miss Frances Simson should fill the post being a former student of the Association and one of the 'first eight ladies'. The Association's 'pioneers' therefore continued to play a guiding role in the affairs of the women students.

Masson Hall was intended to be more than just a hall of residence:

'Although it is only on a small scale at present, it is hoped that Masson Hall will in time come to fill somewhat the place in relation to university life in Edinburgh that is filled by such Halls as Somerville, Lady Margaret's and St Hugh's at Oxford' (50)

At the opening ceremony messages of support were received including in particular one from Emily Davies applauding the motives behind the opening of Masson Hall.(51) It was hoped to provide supplementary instruction and tutorials on a collegiate system and to act as a focal point for women students. To that end when Masson Hall opened the Association closed the flat in Hope Park Square and transferred the facilities to Masson Hall. Although this move never pre-empted the tensions and ill-feeling seen at University Hall, St Andrews, the existence of Masson Hall as a combined hall of residence and women's union would not have attracted all women students. Non-residents paid

50. EAUW gen1877/7 'Education and graduation of women at Edinburgh University' op.cit., page 15

51. Reported in the Scotsman, 24/11/1897

a small fee for the use of the Reading Room, Library and committee rooms. Lunches could also be bought. The WDS transferred its meetings to the Hall and other societies also met there. The WRC also transferred its meetings to the Hall for a time but problems arose over the costs of renting the Masson committee room which were felt to be beyond the funds of the WRC. Some attempts were made to offer reductions based on the proportion of Masson Hall residents who were on the committee but this was immediately ruled out as the Committee feared a domination of the committee by Massonians. (52)

Masson Hall remained the centre of the Association's activities. An office was opened and meetings were also held in the Hall. From this time its role was essentially an administrative one which included the overseeing of the Association's bursaries which were conditional on residence at the Hall. (53)

The number of students in residence at Masson grew from 14 in its first session to over 50 in the 1920s. As the overall number of women students grew the facilities for non residents were insufficient and it became less practical to have the combined venture of Hall and Union.

52. WRC minutes passim

53. These were the Houldsworth bursary donated by Miss Margaret Houldsworth in 1887, a bursary in Sarah Mair's name instituted in the 1880s, the Louisa Stevenson Bursary, the Zetland Bursary, the Frances Simson bursary and the Gunning bursary.

After an appeal and various fund-raising events a separate Women's union was opened in 1905 at 55 Lothian Street. It owed its foundations to the work of Mrs Baldwin Brown and Dr Elsie Inglis. For a subscription of 7/6d (later raised to 10/6) the facilities of a reading room, drawing room and meals were provided. It aimed to provide a corporate lifestyle and a meeting place both socially and intellectually. (54)

The Women's Union did not attract all the women having a membership of only 130 out of the 350 women students in 1906. Boog Watson tells us that on the eve of the First World War a decline in its popularity had occurred and during the war itself considerable mismanagement over many years resulted in a complete reorganisation of the union's management methods by Mrs Jehu and Mrs Lorrain Smith, both Professors' wives. These problems were overcome and in 1919 the Union moved to larger premises in George Square and added a new dining hall in 1920. (55)

The social side of university life for women was enhanced by a series of social functions and informal dances in their own Union. These were apparently less inhibited by the presence of chaperones unlike the men's union where the rules were stricter and women only attended by invitation when a special lecture or occasional dances

54. Boog Watson, W. N. 'The Story of the Women Students' Union', op.cit. and Atlanta's Garland (being the book of the Edinburgh University Women's Union) (1926) It also gave the medical women a meeting place and a feeling of belonging even when they were not totally integrated.

55. *ibid.*

were held.(56) Many of the women's societies also had social functions like an 'at home' or dance as part of its syllabus.

Thus by 1914 women students at Edinburgh University had generated an integrated lifestyle in academic and social terms which embraced attendance in mixed classes and some societies with a separate corporate identity in the women's union, Women's committee and exclusive all female societies. The one glaring exception to this was the women medicals whose status remained uncertain.

Glasgow University

The strongest element of continuity was to be found at Glasgow where the existence of Queen Margaret College gave a smooth transition to the legislative changes. Continuity of provision of higher education remained in the hands of Queen Margaret College but the relationship of the College to Glasgow University and the extent to which women students were integrated into the university structure became the focal point of the 1890s and 1900s. The same applied to the social structures which had been built up in the College and remained there after 1892. The two themes of continuity and separation therefore ran side by side.

56. Moffat, Jean, 'Recollections' in UEJ. 25, 1971-2, page 323

The attempts by Miss Galloway to secure the College's position under the 1889 Act have already been outlined earlier. Affiliation versus incorporation was the issue and how this would place the college in relation to the university. In seeking, in the first instance, affiliation Miss Galloway ran the risk, should the university then open its doors to women as forecast by the 1889 Act, of running duplicate and rival classes. The solution after the passing of the 1892 Ordinance was incorporation into the university. By deed of gift (July 4, 1892), the College handed over its buildings and endowment fund to the University Court and in return for this 'dowry' it was stipulated that the university maintain the college exclusively for women. 'Separate but equal' was therefore the key issue.

The women students were formally known as 'Queen Margaret students: matriculated students of the University' and the college retained its name under the wing of the university. The College base was in effect the Women's Department of the university and Miss Galloway, as secretary, administered both the Department as well as the College although the two roles were more or less interchangeable. This separate administration of women's affairs involved enrolment and matriculation. The teachers at the College were appointed by the Court.

Uncertainties over this new found relationship with the university caused one major flaw in the incorporation agreement. The Queen Margaret College Council which had managed the affairs of the College up until 1892 failed to secure QMC representation on the University Court. There had in contrast previously been two Senatus representatives on the Council. The evidence suggests that at this point the women on the Council gave way a little and surrendered some of their responsibilities back on to male shoulders. Frances Melville (Mistress of QMC from 1909) has written that the proposal to have representation on the Court had been mooted but rejected by the ladies suggesting she said a 'leave it to the men' attitude.(57) It meant that the authority of the QMC Council had declined since incorporation and in effect it was a ladies committee of the University Court overseeing such mundane matters as lodgings , amusements and general moral well-being.(58) The Council was soon dissolved in 1893. The lack of representation remained a defect until the College building was closed in 1935 and the Women's Department became fully integrated into a mixed university environment. In 1909 the college system was changed and a Mistress was appointed at its head and a Tutor in Arts and a Tutor in Science and Medicine were appointed along the

57. Frances H Melville, 'Queen Margaret College', College Courant, vol one , part 2, page 104.

58. GUA 20258

collegiate lines of Cambridge. Frances H Melville succeeded Miss Galloway and the tutors were Janet Spens in Arts and Agnes Picken. Janet Spens was succeeded a few years later by Maude Gertrude May. Apart from Miss Melville they were all early Glasgow graduates.

The geographical separation of the College from the main university buildings reinforced the separate identity of the women and their remoteness from the main university. Initially the classes remained separate but gradually this separation was reduced due to increased numbers of students, to the impracticalities of duplicating some higher and honours classes and also to some suggestions that the College was not paying its way. In 1896 the incorporation issue was still controversial in some quarters. A question-mark was raised about the legality of admitting women to public university classes when it had been stipulated that the Queen Margaret College was for women alone. There were fears that the University had burdened itself with the maintenance of a complete college and because it was rumoured the College was not paying its way, that financial problems would ensue. (59)

In 1903 the College ceased to be an incorporated body and handed over its funds to the University thus resolving the issue of financial problems which had beset the earlier days of the college. (60)

59. GUA 23407 Volume of Presscuttings (Glasgow Herald 5/2/1896)

60. University of Glasgow Gilmorehill Centenary pamphlet. (1970)

Indeed the very success of the College produced an increase in the number of women students and it soon became apparent that some classes would have to be mixed. In 1890 there were 194 women students in the College. In 1892 this had decreased to a matriculated total of 131 but by 1910 the number of Queen Margaret students was 665. (61) By this time History, Education, and Classics were attended at Gilmorehill and Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Natural Philosophy were optional at either QMC or Gilmorehill. By 1918, 940 women were matriculated students and most classes were held at Gilmorehill. The first Arts women to graduate were Isabella Blacklock and Sarah Logan Blair in 1895.

The Medical School for Women at the College continued and in 1894 was rewarded by the award of the MBCM degree to Marion Gilchrist, the first woman in Scotland to receive a Scottish medical degree (although not the first to practise). She had previously attended the QMC classes and because the college course had adhered so strictly to the university course structure, she was able to sit all her professional examinations at the same time which was no mean feat. (62) Under the specific Ordinance of admission for Glasgow women the Commissioners had stipulated that

61. Student Handbooks passim 1892-1914 and GUA 20578
Summary of Matriculated Students 1892-1935
62. Marion Gilchrist, 'Recollections' op.cit.

the QMC classes in medicine would qualify them to sit the professional examinations. In 1894 three other QMC women received their medical degrees. They were Alice Louisa Cumming, Margaret Cochran Dewar and Elizabeth Lyness.

The medical women were also beset with the problem of receiving clinical instruction which had haunted the Edinburgh women years earlier. When the Medical School was set up they arranged to visit the wards of the Royal Infirmary which was some distance from QMC. They attempted to gain admission to the wards of the Western Infirmary which was right on the doorstep of the University and would have facilitated timetable arrangements but this they were denied. In addition even the existing provisions came under threat when the Governor and management of the Royal Infirmary began to have second thoughts about admitting women to their wards and the women had to face some years of doubt over their position. It was only during the First World War that the Western Infirmary, Glasgow overcame its opposition to women and admitted them to its wards.

It has been suggested by Dr Gilchrist that in retrospect the separation of the women's medical classes in separate Schools both in Glasgow and Edinburgh and the resultant lack of professorial classes may well have hindered real

progress towards complete equality of teaching. (63)
Certainly the women medicals in Glasgow and Edinburgh were beset with practical and professional difficulties.

A further complication arose over the possibility of setting up a separate medical school under the terms of a bequest from the will of Dr. Muirhead who left the residue of his estate to be used to set up a separate medical school for women. His will was dated 1888/9 , on the eve of the foundation of the QMC Medical School. There were some difficulties over the terms of the will and when the university was unable to come to any agreement the matter was dropped. (64)

The reactions of men students to the arrival of women students on their doorstep were mixed but the separation of the college perhaps made the impact of women on university life a more gradual process. One graduate of 1904, Annie C C Crichton recalled that 'there was still a struggle for women to get the same advantages as men in the universities'. She seldom saw the professors although her Moral Philosophy class was shared with the men. At one examination in the Bute Hall she recalled this :

63. Gilchrist, M., op. cit.

64. ibid. and Glasgow University Calendars

'I remember one exam at which I had to go to the invigilator's table for more paper. I was the only woman taking the examination and all the men burst into chorus; "you are my honey, honeysuckle, I am the bee." (65)

The separation of most of the classes in the 1890s emphasised the lack of formal integration and reduced or at least delayed the tensions and friction which might otherwise have occurred.

As has been outlined the formalities of integration of women had been completed with continuity but with some friction and doubts about the exact position of Queen Margaret students in relation to the university. The students themselves were aware of the problem. Helen M Nimmo recalled the division of the college into two groups of opinion. There were those who were for an integrated system which she labelled the "progressives" and those, labelled "conservatives" who wanted a separate college. (66) The tensions she recalled emerged in two incidents. During a rectorial election in 1892 some women students campaigned alongside the men. The sight of these women with the men apparently caused alarm and even a vote of censure to those members of the women's branches of the political clubs who had acted in this way.

65. A C C Crichton, 'Finishing School for young ladies', College Courant, vol xix, no 38.

66. Nimmo, Helen M, 'Some Recent notes and Recollections of Queen Margaret College Life' in The Book of the Jubilee 1451-1901, p146.

The second example of tension and conflict arose over representation on the SRC. In February 1897 at a meeting of the men's SRC it had been suggested that the women seek representation on their committee but the QMC students felt their view should have been consulted first before being publicly aired. At a later meeting on 9th March 1897 the women decided by 58 to 23 to retain their separate women's committee of the SRC within the College. Those for separation headed by Miss Lucy Buckley feared the smaller college view would be swallowed up, that it was better to petition themselves (thus giving the women students standpoint) and also viewed separation of activities from a sentimental standpoint, that it had always been separate within the college. Miss M'Iloy headed those who voted to unite with the men, seeing joint representation as the only way to secure Court recognition. The university had no power under Section III of the 1889 Act to recognise them. The QMC SRC resigned over this issue and it was not settled for some years. (67) There was therefore a certain ambivalence regarding the defence of the QMC as a separate institution on the one hand but at the same time its incorporation into the university required a structure which would be ultimately fully integrated.

The separation of social activities continued into many other areas of QMC life and was the most common feature of

67. GUA 23407 Volume of Presscuttings, Evening Times 2/2/1897 and 9/3/1897

the early years of the Queen Margaret College. Since the college had been founded in 1883 many of its social activities and functions had been developed before the formal admission of women to the university and they continued into the integration phase in the 1890s. Central to this continuity was the figure of Miss Janet Galloway. Along with Mrs Campbell she had been the originator of many social activities like 'At Homes' and had encouraged the women to set up societies.(68) Miss Galloway's personality dominated the outlook of the College. She has been recalled as having a strong conservative instinct combined with ideas of progressive action. Thus it was that she viewed women lecturers and the suffrage question with a fair degree of hesitancy and doubt. (69) Her traditional outlook towards Collegiate life apparently recoiled at the expansion of QMC, and especially the growth of what she saw as the machine-made graduate. (70)

Thus it was that the early social activities focussed on the development of unity and cohesion and the appreciation of social activities as a way of achieving this. The college was seen therefore as more than just a school for higher education. It began very early to duplicate the university lifestyle which was already developing at

68. Murray, David op. cit. p 13.

69. F H Melville, ' Queen Margaret College' op.cit.

70. Jardine, Mrs R , Janet Ann Galloway LLD. Some Memories and Appreciations (1914)

Gilmorehill in the late 1880s and 1890s. More than this the development of a corporate lifestyle within the college served to heighten the awareness of the women of their status within the university and their separate identity as women students.

As early as 21st December 1885 the QMC Literary and Debating Society was formed and at its first meeting on 11th January 1886 it discussed the merits of reading novels.(71) Other clubs and societies known to have been formed included a Tea Club, the Queen Margaret Guild and in 1890 the Queen Margaret Union was formally established. When the formalities of integration had been completed in 1892 what the college saw was expansion of its social activities through the growth in its clubs and societies, although alongside this there were some innovatory developments.

The Women's Union, known as the Queen Margaret Students Union had its origins going back to the 1880s when Mrs Campbell and later Miss Galloway held 'At Homes'. These were very much typical of the Victorian social etiquette but they became for the college the roots out of which the women's union could grow into a more formal body within the College. The Union was housed initially in the college but soon moved in 1906 to Buckingham Terrace along the road from the college grounds and not far from

71. Annie McMillan, 'Queen Margaret College in the Middle Ages' in the Book of the Jubilee, pages 143-4

the Gilmorehill university location and then to 67 Ann Street(now Southpark Avenue) from 1909 to 1923 when the Union again moved premises to number One, University Gardens. (72)

The Women's Union aimed to unite the women into one common group , stating its aim as follows:

'to encourage social intercourse and corporate feeling, to keep former students in touch with their successors in College and to promote generally interests of the College'(73)

The aims therefore were broad-ranging and enabled the Union to have a wider interest in college events beyond the social and beyond the provision of a meeting-place. It was involved and assisted in a Bazaar for the endowment of the college in 1892, a move by the college to raise funds to achieve Mrs Elder's target for endowment which would secure the financial position of the college. (74)

In 1894 another new development was begun. Realising the need for some students to have residential facilities which the College itself could not offer with the help of the Students' Union a company was formed to open and run a residence for women students. Lilybank House in Bute Gardens was leased and opened in 1894 with accommodation for 25 students.

72. Glasgow University Student Handbooks, passim

73. *ibid.*

74. Book of the Jubilee passim. and GUA 23408 Volume of Presscuttings 1891-1894

The opening of Queen Margaret Hall was reported in the press and the Glasgow Evening News noted its aims:

'...(it) is not the mere opening of a boarding-house for girls - it is the beginning in Scotland of that University Life which in Oxford and Cambridge makes each college a community and interest which not only educates the scholar in what are matters of class routine, but gives them that far more liberal education which widens sympathy and forms the character.' (75)

Again the founders of this hall of residence apparently saw the provision of a Hall of Residence as contributing to the Girtonian ideal which was seen as the ultimate in university college life for women. However given the numbers it could accommodate and the overall growth of women students they could never hope to achieve this aim. In Glasgow, of all the Scottish Universities, the tradition of corporate living was least successful because of the large proportion of students who lived within the Glasgow area and lived at home during their university years.

The third innovation in which the Union assisted was the foundation of the Queen Margaret Settlement Association in 1897 which commenced early social work in the poorer district of Anderston. A house was opened in 1901 where women students could live close at hand. Pioneer work was to be done by women students in setting up an Invalid School and in numerous campaigns they promoted milk

75. *ibid.*, and Elsie Conway, 'Two New Halls of Residence', College Courant, vol xvii no 34 p 143. The University took it over in 1923.

production and free milk for mothers.(76) This venture became linked to the School of Social Study and Training within the university. Miss Galloway was the Settlement's convener. In 1905 permanent quarters were opened. It also opened up social work as a career possibility for women graduates.

Out of another of the Union's aims came the beginnings of the Women Graduates Association in 1901 further cementing the bonds of Queen Margaret College. This Association was formed after a visit by Miss Galloway to America. Thus the association was run very much along the lines of the ACA (America Collegiate Alumnae) and was probably the first of its kind in Britain.(77)

In 1910 an interesting new venture took place with the formation of a Queen Margaret College Parliament which was founded by a meeting of class representatives to further the well-being of the college and the intercommunication of students and the power of united action. Its formation suggests a reaction to the separation of the college from the university. Other factors were the growth in numbers of students and a feeling that the growth of classes at Gilmorehill was diluting the ties to Queen Margaret College.(78)

76. Checkland, O E Queen Margaret Union 1890-1980. Women in the University of Glasgow. (pamphlet 1980)

77. Melville, F H, British Federation of University Women. A History (1949, unpublished)

78. See Glasgow Student Handbooks, passim.

By the early 1900s the range of clubs and societies at Queen Margaret College had blossomed and included a Christian Union, a Student Voluntary Missionary Union, a Tutors' Association, Medical, Philosophical, Hockey, and Athletic Clubs. Women's branches of the political clubs were started and included the Conservative, Liberal and later but briefly the Irish Nationalist Society. Later in 1907 the women students formed the Queen Margaret College Women Students' Suffrage Society.(79) A Poetry Club and Dramatic club completed the list. Gradually some university societies were mixed including the Total Abstinence, the Philosophical(in 1918), the Temperance, Historical and Le Chardon. Women served as committee members on these clubs. The men's Christian Union, Dialectic, Engineering and Medicochirurgical remained exclusively masculine for many years. The story at Glasgow was similar to the other universities with the growth in the Arts faculty stimulating the foundation of clubs and societies related to Arts subjects.

Beyond the social levels of integration there were many practical difficulties for the women students. There was only a small waiting room at Gilmorehill between classes and little else for them provided. Marion Gilchrist recalled three key problems which beset students. These

79. See Chapter 5 'Feminism in the Universities' where this society is discussed further.

were food, transport and lodgings. Even with the opening of the Hall, many women still had to seek suitable lodgings and in 1904 the university resolved to draw up a list of lodgings for women and formed a committee to look into the question. There was a lack of suitable hostels and lodgings and many landladies adopted a 'gentlemen only' attitude. Miss Galloway did much at the informal level to help individual students find accommodation. The transport problem for the medicals concerned the distance of their clinical instruction from the rest of their classes and the problems of inflexible timetables. There was also a lack of facilities for lunches and the women sought out the local tea-rooms to have lunch although the shortage of these and the problems of expense for some necessitated finding a space in the College to eat sandwiches. Packed lunches at 9d per head were sent in to the College as a means of offering some kind of luncheon facilities. In the early 1900s a campaign was launched to provide a luncelon room in the College. (80)

Thus by 1914, the Queen Margaret College, despite its failings and its separate functioning, was a successful enterprise attracting many women students and in that sense fulfilled the original aims to provide higher education for women in a college run exclusively for women. This exclusivity and separation did however in the long run limit the nature of the equal provision of higher education for women in Glasgow.

80. Marion Gilchrist, Surgo, op.cit.

Integration v Separation

It has been necessary to compartmentalise and chart the progress of 'university women' by university centre in order to establish the levels of continuity between the pre and post 1892 periods. It is apparent that some common characteristics were shared by the four universities at least as far as women students were concerned. The theme of integration dominates the narrative and identifies the way in which women's admission was achieved: integration had two aspects, one being the **formal** integration through the channels of legislation and the other being the **informal** integration of women through social integration. The pattern of acceptance of women students by their male counterparts underlies the whole theme of integration. In terms of the two integration levels, with the exception of the medical women at Edinburgh and the existence of Queen Margaret College, the integration of women at a formal level had largely been achieved by the late 1890s. In many cases the practical adjustments of these formalities did reveal some prejudice and discrimination which even the Ordinances could not hide.

It was however at the informal level, that the pattern of integration of women students varied, partly dictated by the demands of women students and partly by the willingness or unwillingness of the particular authorities or men students to allow any degree of 'infiltration' of

their university niche. 'Infiltration' is indeed a useful description because the informal integration of women students was not achieved overnight by legislation but gradually over a number of years and parallel to the growth in the number of women students which in many cases necessitated the provision and expansion of facilities. It was largely left to the women to initiate these new provisions, especially the halls of residence and women's unions.

An important point which should be made about integration is that the level of integration achieved at each of the universities was varied and was directly related to what had happened before 1892. At Aberdeen where the ALEA had folded some years before there was an almost immediate integration at formal and informal level. At Glasgow where a women's college had been fully established since 1883 its separate identity and functioning continued after 1892 and emphasised the separate nature of women's education at Glasgow, even delaying total integration for many years to come. At Edinburgh integration was hampered by the legacy of the women medicals' question. At St Andrews formal integration was achieved quickly because the LLA tradition was already offering examinations to university level.

Another point that can be made is that the theme of continuity at the informal level was most successful where the women's educational association had been strongest.

Thus the Edinburgh and Glasgow Associations transferred their facilities to the university to provide a base for the next generation of university women. St Andrews was unique in being a two centre university and this did alter the pattern of integration in terms of continuity but the absence of any strong higher education association and lecture series for women hindered the immediate provision of social facilities. The LLA successful though it was, was largely separate from the internal integration of the new breed of women students although its existence had largely publicised the name of St Andrews. The presence of some classes for women at University College, Dundee before 1892 was also another factor in the smooth transition in 1892. At the informal level of integration women at St Andrews University had to build their own corporate lifestyle and this in itself produced tensions between the university and the women students when it decided to open a Hall of Residence for women.

Throughout the Scottish Universities in the 1890s and 1900s the women students despite some mixed classes and some mixed clubs and societies remained separate in their own associations. In particular the role of the women's unions, debating societies and suffrage societies revealed the awareness of feminist leanings to voice their views and opinions. This shall be examined in a later chapter.

The role of the pioneers was also a central factor. The first generation of university women were indeed the heroines of the pre 1892 era connected to the universities through the associations although operating outside them. Their role as we have seen had been largely instrumental in securing the admission of women to the Scottish Universities. They were all strong personalities, and included, for example, Sarah Mair and Louisa Stevenson in Edinburgh, Janet Galloway in Glasgow, and Louisa Lumsden in St Andrews. They were true pioneers in the campaign for the higher and university education of women in Scotland. They did not, however, abdicate their pioneering role in 1892 when their mission appeared accomplished. Instead they used their position as the elder stateswomen of the movement to secure a firm foundation for the next generation of young women students. This transfer of role was clearest in Edinburgh where the EAUEW set up and more or less ran the women's union and Masson Hall. Although the emphasis was different, Queen Margaret College also saw a similar move to provide a firm base of corporate life for its women students. Perhaps the role of pioneers in Aberdeen and St Andrews was less evident but there the legacies of established higher educational associations were weakest. Although Louisa Lumsden was present at St Andrews, she was there by official appointment and her Birtonian experience tended to condition her outlook towards an English style of college for women.

In conclusion, the most crucial point which emerged in these early years of integration was the highlighting of a significant division in the experience of university women which could be categorised neatly into the two prevalent viewpoints of Victorian educationalists. Sarah Delamont has described them as 'compromising' and 'uncompromising' or as one contemporary described them as 'progressives' and 'conservatives'. The Queen Margaret College in Glasgow is a prime example of conflict over the right approach to the higher education of women debate, i.e. whether it should be separate but equal or totally integrated. The story of the Scottish Universities has shown that on the whole the 'progressives' won and integration was complete by 1914. The use of such labels however has also shown that there were gradings of interpretation within these two extremes which were a truer reflection of the pattern of integration in Scotland and which deserve recognition. The exclusion of the Edinburgh medical women from mixed classes was one major example of the extent to which the pretence of total integration fell down. There were other minor ones which included separate entrances for some classes and some Professors continuing to address their classes as 'gentlemen'. In the end the formalities of integration were enforced more than the informalities of general university life.

Chapter Three

The statistics of matriculation and graduation : women at the Scottish Universities 1892-1939

In the previous chapter discussion focussed on the general changes which heralded the arrival of women students at the four Scottish Universities. As we have learned there was a steady intake of new women students into the Universities. In this chapter matriculation and graduation data is charted on graphs to illustrate the gradual expansion of the student population to include women and to identify the differentiation of statistical trends between the four Universities and indeed within individual faculties. The outflow of women graduates, is also presented both in tabular and graphical form. These illustrations are not exclusive to women students because one cannot discuss matriculation or graduation trends without reference also to men students. However the key element within this statistical examination is to identify the features unique to women students and to make some assessment of any differentiating trends.

The data : sources , methodology and problems.

Information on matriculation statistics is to be found in three key sources: Parliamentary Papers, University Calendars and the University Grants Committee Returns. (1) Under the University Scotland Act (1889) the authorities were required to send in yearly statements of their financial and statistical situation. Published annually from 1889 , these figures form the basis of the data presented here. There is considerable variation in the way each University presented its data and also variation in the content and even each university was not consistent in its reporting of its own statistics.

Edinburgh University , for example, was the only one to issue fully comprehensive figures on the male-female breakdown of graduates from the outset of female admissions. Glasgow University omitted separate male and female graduate figures but was one of the earliest to report the male-female breakdown of matriculations. St Andrews University returns only included female matriculation statistics from the session 1899-1900 despite women attending from 1892 and only included a male -female breakdown of degrees from 1903-1904.

1. See Bibliography for details of statistical sources and see accompanying Appendices for full data.

Similar statistical information on matriculation is also to be found in a second source , University Calendars. They of course contain a much wider range of information than the Parliamentary Papers being the 'student guidebook' to classes and courses as well as listing passes in examinations and graduation lists. They also included statistical tables although like the Parliamentary papers , each University varied its style and format. It should also be noted that the actual data contained in the Annual Returns to Parliament often contradicted the equivalent figures in the University Calendars and some overlap of the statistics occasionally happened depending on the beginning and end dates used for the calculation of the statistics by academic session.

These inconsistencies are however of a minor nature and do not alter the general trends and patterns of the statistical evidence to any great extent. Inconsistencies disappear with the publication of the University Grants Committee Returns in 1919 , the third source of the statistical data covered in this chapter. The University Grants Committee had been set up as a Standing Committee in July 1919, receiving annual statements from Universities and Colleges in receipt of Treasury Grants. In Scotland these reports replaced those sent to the Secretary for Scotland prior to 1914.

Statistical data was extracted from these sources for the period 1892 to 1939 utilising the Annual Parliamentary Returns and the UGC Returns as the main sources and supplementing where required with data from the University Calendars. In the pre-1914 period the winter session figures were used. The main university intake of students occurred at the beginning of the academic session in October and it would be this statistical information which would dictate the size of classes and curricula organisation. Summer classes were initially taken by lecturers and were not always part of the main courses although the practice varied. In addition the student matriculating for a summer session would possibly have matriculated already in the winter session. So the summer session figures were omitted from the main presentation of statistics to avoid possible overlap although they are included in summary form in the appendices. The academic session was organised into three terms in 1907.

Only three faculties were selected for the detailed examination of the university statistics - Arts, Science and Medicine. These were the faculties where there was a significant female presence worthy of comparative assessment. Engineering, Law and Divinity did not have any significant female matriculation figures although where women did matriculate in these faculties, it is indicated in the appendices.

Matriculation

Looking at graph 3.1, the general matriculation trends for St Andrews divide into three distinct periods common to what will be established as the general Scottish enrolment trend. (2) In the first phase before 1914 we see the steady development of a significant female attendance at St Andrews University and University College, Dundee. (3) Yet from the 1908-09 session women student numbers start to tail off, a trend exhibited to a lesser extent by men students. The explanation of this decline is due mostly to external economic factors and perhaps also to a balancing out of the intake after the setting up of the Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers which did cause some increase in enrolment figures.

2. See Appendix 3.1

3. The University of St Andrews was made up of three separate Colleges. The oldest and most established were United College and St Mary's College, covering the Arts and Divinity faculties.

University College, Dundee was a recent attachment to the University in 1897 having been formally constituted in 1883.

GRAPH 3.1 MATRICULATION AT ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
1893-1939

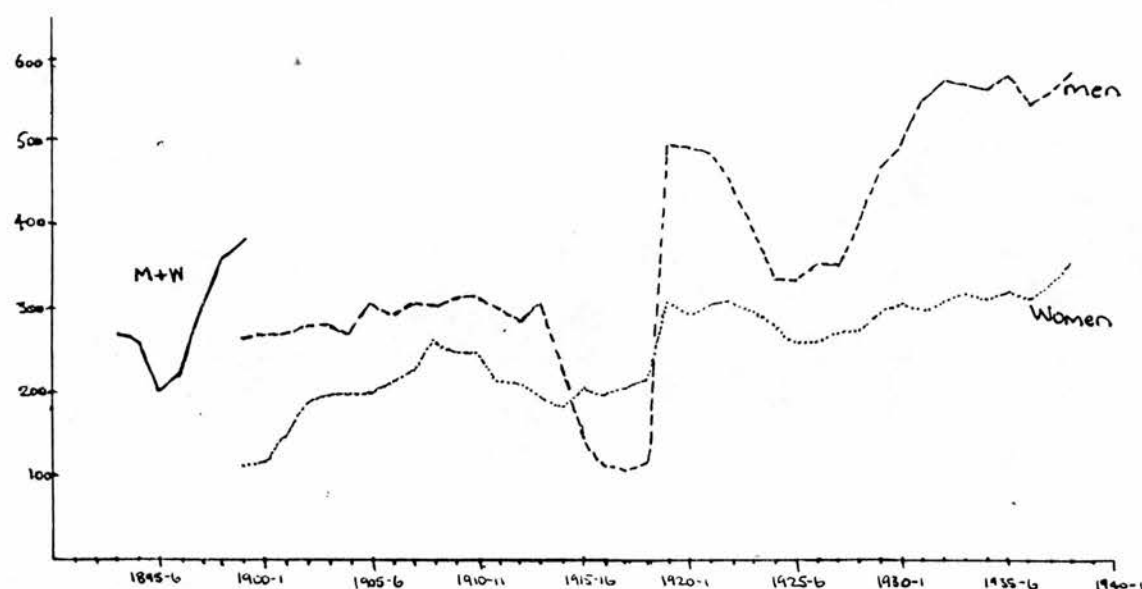


TABLE 3A MATRICULATION AT ST ANDREWS AND DUNDEE
1899-1914

Year	St Andrews		Dundee		Total	
	men	women	men	women	men	women
1899-0	192	88	88	26	264	114
1900-1	204	91	92	26	269	116
1901-2	201	91	92	26	269	146
1902-3	215	122	90	72	280	187
1903-4	196	107	101	100	279	198
1904-5	204	103	91	104	268	199
1905-6	215	121	116	83	305	195
1906-7	198	124	111	93	291	210
1907-8	209	139	116	93	306	227
1908-9	199	163	126	107	301	264
1909-10	209	163	130	94	312	247
1910-11	204	168	138	89	313	248
1911-12	195	147	133	71	297	213
1912-13	178	138	124	76	283	210
1913-14	182	131	139	68	304	194

In Table 3A above the breakdown is given for both men and women at the two centres between 1899 and 1914. (4) From

4. See Appendix 3.1. The figures in table 3A are adjusted to allow for matriculation in more than one faculty.

1900 University College women entrants experienced a greater rise in their numbers than the St Andrews women rising from 26 in session 1899-1900 to 104 by 1904-5, this figure being almost equal to the number of women matriculating at United College, St Andrews. These figures it should be noted again are for winter session only and exclude specially matriculated summer session figures. After the 1904-5 session there is a steady increase in female matriculation at St Andrews but slower and more fluctuating movement in Dundee. Both Dundee and St Andrews then show the same decline in student numbers from session 1911-12. The overall decline in female entrants from 1908 is confined mainly to the Arts faculty. The relative figures for men show that Dundee male entrants remain slightly more stable than men at St Andrews. The percentage of men to women students at both university centres is noted in Table 3B for selected benchmark years.

TABLE 3B PERCENTAGE OF MEN & WOMEN STUDENTS
ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY 1899 - 1914

Year	St Andrews		Dundee		Total %	
	men%	women%	men%	women%	men	women
1899-1900	68.6	31.4	77.2	22.8	69.8	30.2
1904-1905	66.4	33.5	46.7	53.3	57.4	42.6
1909-1910	56.2	43.8	58.0	42.0	55.8	44.2
1914-1915	56.7	43.3	54.1	45.9	55.8	44.2

The second distinct period in the general matriculation pattern is that of the First World War when the decline in female numbers was reversed. The trend is not unexpected. In an atmosphere of patriotic fever and later conscription men students were leaving their studies and there was a decline in first time male matriculations . By 1915-16 the Statistical Report noted that since session 1913-14 , 204 men were on military service and this did not include others working in munitions. From the statistical evidence on Graph 3.1 there is no differentiating trend for male entrants between St Andrews and University College, Dundee. In both centres the male enrolment figures plunged but women continued to matriculate, maintaining a steady inflow at a time when the university was experiencing considerable hardship and difficulties because of the impact of war on declining numbers. Sixty-four per cent of students were women in session 1916-17 indicating the impact of war on enrolment trends yet there was neither sharp increase nor decline in the female numbers.

The third period on the graph is the inter-war period and it has two distinct phases. The first decade , the 1920s , saw the dramatic effect of returning war heroes on top of normal intake . The 1920s was in a national sense a period of readjustment to the aftereffects of the economic dislocation of war with economic downturn and

unemployment. A similar effect at university level occurred with a recovery boom giving way to a more steady movement in student numbers. The women students show less fluctuation in their matriculation pattern than the men. Therefore in the period of decline in the early 1920s there was a decrease in student numbers due to readjustment and this change affected men more than women. The number of men students declined from 782 in session 1921-2 to 583 in session 1925-6, a decrease in percentage terms of 31.6 per cent on the 1921 figure. In the same period the percentage decrease for women was only 15.7 per cent. There is no apparent decline in the matriculation trend for women students in the depression years of the 1930s yet the graduation trends shown later do reveal a quite clear decrease in the number of women completing their course to degree level.

While considerable fluctuations in the general matriculation pattern for both men and women are occurring throughout the period, the ratio of men to women students in percentage terms as given in the UGC's Returns are presented in table 3C which highlights the position of women at St Andrews in the inter-war period.(5)

5. The Scottish female average includes the Royal Technical College, Glasgow which has almost no female students which may offset the Scottish average to some extent although St Andrews is still higher if allowance is made for this. See appendix 3.2 for UGC figures.

TABLE 3.C FULL-TIME STUDENTS ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
BY PERCENTAGE SHARE 1919-1939

Year	male %	female %	female Scotland
1919-20	61.8	38.2	26.6
1920-21	62.4	37.6	25.8
1921-22	61.1	38.9	27.7
1922-23	59.2	40.8	29.8
1923-24	56.7	43.3	32.5
1924-25	54.9	45.1	34.1
1925-26	55.9	44.1	34.5
1926-27	57.6	42.2	34.0
1927-28	56.2	43.8	34.3
1928-29	59.5	40.5	33.1
1929-30	61.2	38.8	32.3
1930-31	62.0	38.0	31.7
1931-32	64.7	35.3	30.7
1932-33	65.1	34.9	30.0
1933-34	64.3	35.7	28.2
1934-35	64.7	35.3	27.0
1935-36	64.5	35.5	25.7
1936-37	63.6	36.4	25.1
1937-38	63.2	36.8	25.8
1938-39	62.2	37.8	27.0

(Source : UGC Returns)

The proportion of women to men students at St Andrews and Dundee was consistently higher than the Scottish female average reaching its most equal stage in quantitative terms in the academic year 1924-25 when 54.9 per cent of the total fulltime students were men and 45.1 per cent were women . This was the highest proportion of women to men in the entire inter-war period at any of the four Scottish Universities.

Looking at the breakdown of the matriculation figures in more detail, graph 3.2 shows the pattern of matriculation in the Arts faculty at St Andrews. (6) The position of women is strong and for the most part one of majority.

GRAPH 3.2 FACULTY OF ARTS , ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY



This position of strength is significant not only for women students but also for the University. The role of University College in providing a growing number of women Arts students might well explain the increase in the number of women students. However, taking for example the winter session 1908-09 the statistics show that 144 women matriculated at St Andrews to 128 men and at Dundee 95

6. See Appendix 3.1

women to 27 men. (7) Thus even without the Dundee entrants the number of women students in the Arts faculty would have exceeded the men. As women students showed a propensity towards Arts degrees this majority situation is neither unexpected or unusual but the fact that women students outnumbered their male colleagues in Arts classes when their admission had been barred some twenty years earlier justifies the emphasis placed on the statistical evidence. It raises the question of what the effect would have been on the fortunes and institutional development of St Andrews University had there been no women students. Indeed the entry of women into St Andrews University may well have enabled it to reverse the pattern of decline.

The general matriculation trends indicated a decline in student numbers prior to the First World War. It can be seen that this decline was to be found primarily in the Arts faculty. It was unique to St Andrews and the explanation is possibly to be found in local factors such as economic factors or even to the attraction of alternative academic centres in Scotland and beyond.

The First World War period was again an abnormal recruitment time although there is no expansion in the number of female Arts entrants. Women Arts students were in a clear majority position - by session 1918-19 only 28

7. Annual Statistical Returns for 1908-09 (Parliamentary papers 1910 (147) lxxii,813)

men were matriculated Arts students compared to 104 in 1914. The percentage of women students in the Arts faculty in 1916-1917 was 77 per cent .

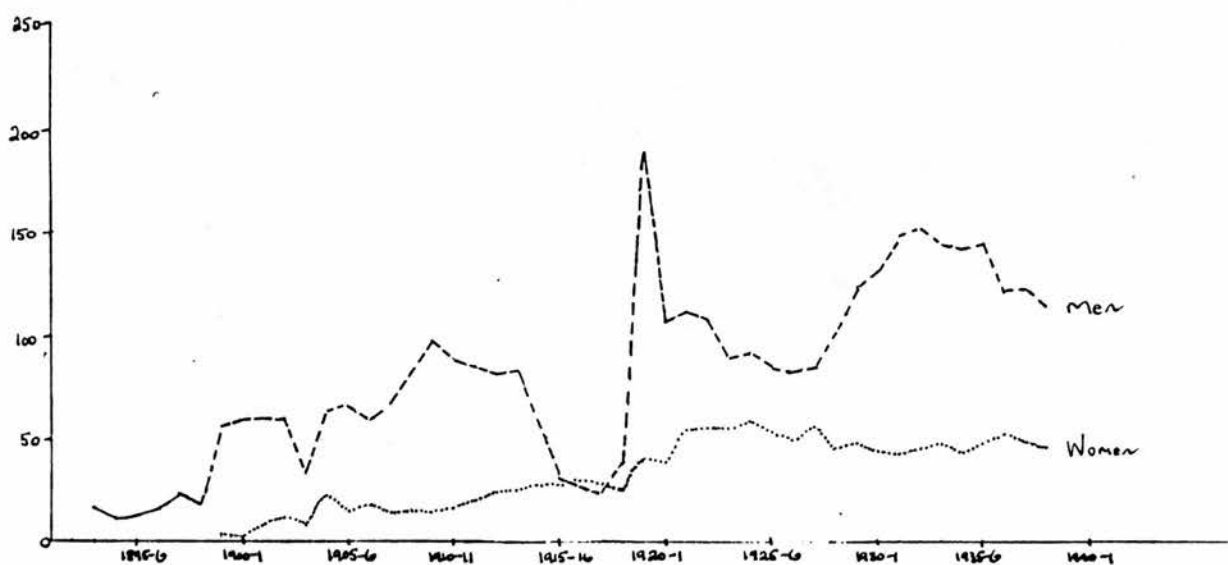
The post-war recovery phase and the depression years are again evident on the graph. Throughout this period until 1935-6 women Arts students outnumbered men students and the time period in which this majority situation lasted was unique to St Andrews . One of the comments to be made about these figures is the University Grant Committee Returns' inclusion of Law and Theology in the Arts figures. Now in the pre 1914 period both these subjects attracted small numbers of students ; Law was only beginning at Dundee and Theology by tradition attracted few students. In the session 1908-09 already quoted above, 22 men and one woman enrolled in the Divinity faculty at St Andrews and 12 men in Law at Dundee. These figures are small and hardly alter the general trends in the pre 1914 period. However both faculties were developing in the interwar era. The Law faculty extended its facilities until in 1939 it could offer a complete course towards the degree of B.L. In the Divinity faculty strength came from the introduction of new professorships and general changes in the faculty's administration . (8)

8. Cant, *op. cit* , page 137

Yet, even if this is so and more students did move into these faculties the significance of the female majority in the inter war period as displayed in the graph above is enhanced and remains a quite notable feature of inter war university life in St Andrews. The high percentage of women Arts students goes a long way to explain the higher percentage ratio of women to men at St Andrews throughout the inter-war period compared to other universities.

In the Science faculty it can clearly be seen that this was not a faculty where women predominated. In graph 3.3 below the pattern of matriculation follows the tendency to divide into three distinct phases. (9)

GRAPH 3.3 FACULTY OF SCIENCE , ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY



9. The figures for women students are only available from the 1899-1900 session. The sources are the same as for graphs 3.1 and 3.2

After a steady if small increase in women Science students pre 1914 the First World War saw a brief moment when women Science students outnumber the men but this was not due to any sudden improvement in female matriculation but due to the related downward trend in men students at the onset of the war. The number of men Science students had already been fluctuating prior to 1914 but decreased dramatically during the war only to increase in the post war boom which re-emphasised the numerical difference between men and women. By the mid 1920s the gap between men and women had narrowed significantly but this changed by the beginning of the next decade when there was a sudden increase in men Science students reflecting the growth in science-based careers. There was however no parallel increase in the Science women's figures although their numbers did not decline either in the inter-war period. This was in contrast to the women medicals whose matriculation pattern is quite different.

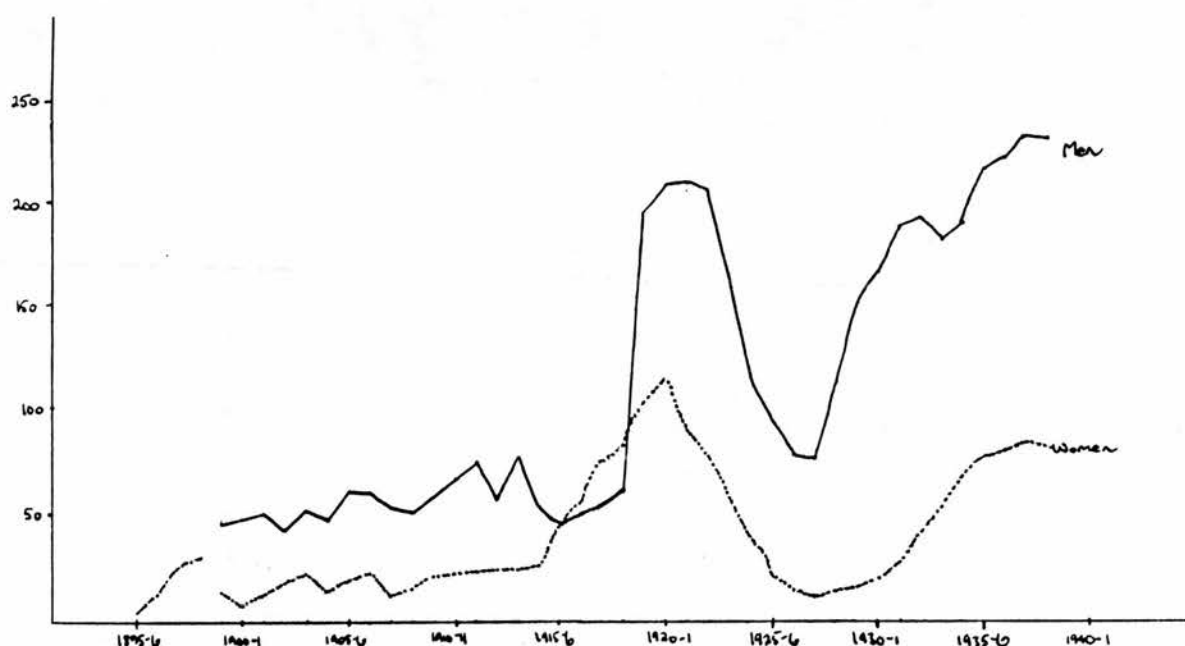
Despite the numerical gap between men and women students what is quite remarkable in the Medical faculty is the strong similarity between the two curves in graph 3.4.

(10) A steady movement pre 1914 reflects the development of a separate Medical faculty; new Professorships, extended medical courses and the formation of a Conjoint Medical School in Dundee which while constitutionally

10. The UGC returns include Dentistry.

separate had close links with the university, all contributed to the expansion of the faculty. Expansion was followed by a male decline at the beginning of the war although this had already started to reverse by 1916.

GRAPH 3.4 FACULTY OF MEDICINE, ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY



Again in wartime women students outnumbered men for a short duration but unlike the Science faculty there seems to have been a significant increase of women medicals with the number of women more than doubling in the period 1914-1918 from 16 in 1913-14 to 26 in the next session to 76 in the 1917-18 session.

The post war boom in medical matriculations for both men and women is dramatically portrayed on the graph as is the subsequent decline in the 1920s . In session 1927-28 only 11 women matriculated in the medical faculty at both St

Andrews and University College , Dundee. This was the same figure as in session 1907-8 twenty years earlier. Recovery followed and by the late 1930s the medical faculty had considerably expanded. Women medicals had not quite reached the peak of 1920 but their numerical status was stable. Post war adjustment naturally explains much of the mid 1920s decline. Openings in the profession declined after the demands of the war situation had lessened.

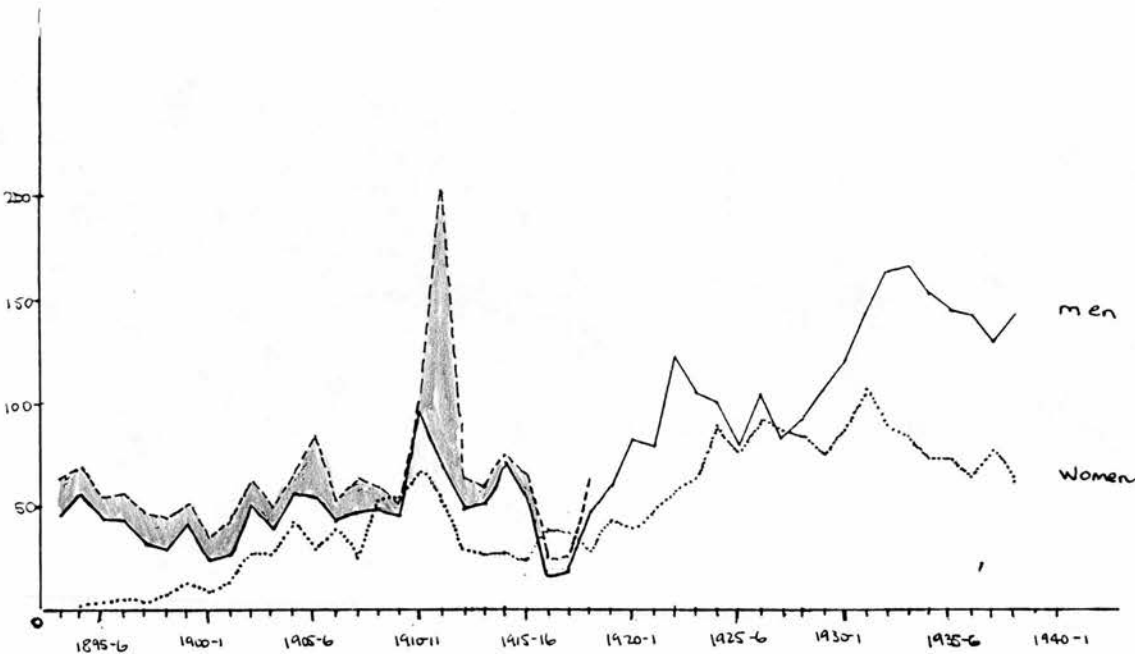
Degrees

The pattern of graduation is displayed on graph 3.5 below showing the output over the whole period under survey from 1892 to 1939. (11) The graph indicates a symmetrical movement throughout between the male and female curves despite the earlier evidence of disparity in the matriculation pattern which showed some divergence in the movement between male and female matriculations. Fluctuation in output is also evident. Allowance has been made on the graph for male honorary degrees pre 1918. (12) The sudden peak in session 1911-12 is accounted for by the university's Quincentenary celebrations when 114 men and 2 women had the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (LLD) conferred on them. The shaded area on the graph indicates this.

11. Appendix 3.3 and 3.4 gives detailed breakdown in tabular form.

12. There were few women who received honorary degrees and figures are too small to indicate separately on the graph.

GRAPH 3.5 DEGREES AWARDED, ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY



The graph also indicates a graduation pattern which divides into three distinct phases of pre-1914, war time and inter-war. From the detailed figures in Appendix 3, a summary of degrees will be made of the pre-1914 period

TABLE 3D DEGREES AWARDED , ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY
1893-1914

Degrees	Men	m% per degree	Women	f% per degree	Total Degrees	%
DD honorary	99	100.0	-	-	99	5.2
LLD honorary	273	96.8	9	3.2	282	14.7
MD etc (Higher)	75	96.2	3	3.8	78	4.1
MBChB/MBCM	107	82.3	23	17.7	130	6.7
BSc	152	84.4	28	15.6	180	9.4
BD	123	100.0	-	-	123	6.4
MAhons/MA	549	53.7	474	46.3	1023	53.4
Totals	1378	71.9	537	28.1	1915	100.0

when most information is available. The total number of degrees awarded at St Andrews University in this period was 1915 and the breakdown is given in table 3D (13)

The percentage ratio of total degrees awarded in the pre-1914 period was 28.1% to women and 71.9 per cent to men but excluding the honorary and higher degrees the position of women graduates was in fact stronger with 36.1 per cent of first degree graduates being women to 63.9 per cent of men. The majority of degrees, some 88.2 per cent, awarded to women were in Arts.

The balance of degrees for both men and women is strongly towards the Arts with 53.4 per cent of total degrees being MA honours or MA ordinary. The percentages by faculty are also given in the table above showing for example that women arts graduates account for 46.3 per cent of total Arts degrees which reflects the dominance of women in the Arts faculty pre 1914 as previously shown in the matriculation data. The full data set in appendix 3 reveals that within this aggregate Arts percentage there are to be found several years when women Arts graduates outnumbered male Arts graduates .

The degrees of BSc and the higher degree, DSc had been awarded since 1876 but in 1897 a separate science faculty

13. See Appendix 3.3

was introduced thus building on the new curricula offered under the 1889 Act and subsequent ordinances. Despite the expansion of science subjects the total number of science degrees in the pre 1914 period is not large and women graduates are very few in this section compared to Arts.

Similarly, with medical degrees women graduates are not a large group , numbering 23 or 17.7 per cent of total medical degrees (MBCM or MBChB). Some of these medical degrees were conferred on women who had already taken an Arts degree and therefore the number of women who took medicine as a first degree was even less. An example of this is Elizabeth H B Macdonald who graduated MA Honours in English in 1900 and then went into medicine receiving the degree of MBChB in 1905 and the Doctorate of Medicine (MD) in 1907. (14)

While the First World War saw a significant increase in female matriculations the graduation trends are less straightforward. The outflow of women graduates in the war years reflects to a large extent the first year intake of the pre war years from 1910 but the outflow of men graduates was drastically cut by the number of men who did not complete their studies. The increase in medical

14. Bryson, Elizabeth, *op. cit.*

students during the war is likewise not reflected in the 1914-18 statistics. Therefore although the graph indicates the statistical graduation trend to be downward it cannot be compared too directly with the pre 1914 outflow of graduates. In addition any meaningful comparison of the ratio of men to women graduates is again slightly questionable. Thus the decline in women graduates is more directly related to declining pre 1914 matriculation figures and the decline in men graduates is directly attributable to the effects of war.

The figures for the inter-war period are of a more general nature as indicated in the discussion on sources. (15) The overall picture on graph 3.5 is one of fluctuation over the two decades with a clear division between the 1920s and the 1930s and this is very similar to the matriculation pattern. Where the 1920s is an unsettled period and one of adjustment to post war conditions, the 1930s graduation trend at St Andrews shows a declining rate of graduate output. The fluctuations of the 1920s were caused by a delay factor in returning ex-servicemen returning from war to complete their course. By the late 1920s and early 1930s an increasing trend seems to suggest that more first-time entrants were completing their

15. See earlier in chapter, pages 197-199

studies at a time when matriculations had fallen off. The graduate decline of the 1930s is however in contrast to the matriculation figures which are upward throughout the 1930s. These comments are however only tentative as any causal linkage between student entry and exit can only be made from the existing figures and further research would be required to follow through the number of first time entrants completing their courses. (16)

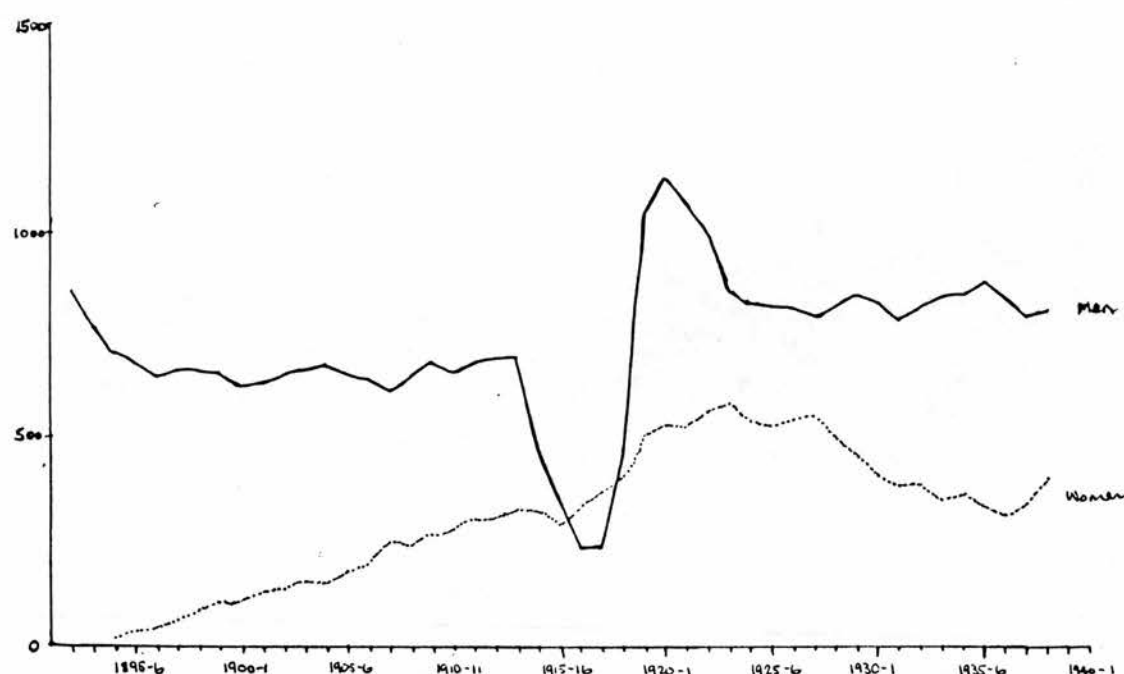
Aberdeen University - Matriculation and degrees 1892-1893

The narrative now moves to Aberdeen University which was, like St Andrews, also a small regional academic centre. The matriculation and graduation trends are again examined in the commentary. The pattern of student recruitment at Aberdeen University is indicated on graph 3.6 and shows a typical division into the three distinct periods of pre-war, 1914-1918 war and inter-war. (17)

16. See chapter 6 for a preliminary study of the Glasgow non-graduate group.

17. See again Appendix 3.1 for full statistics.

GRAPH 3.6 MATRICULATION AT ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY 1892-1939



In the pre 1914 era progress of women entrants is shown on the graph by a steady upward movement. A decline in male entrants at the beginning of the 1890s is then balanced by a male matriculation pattern which is steady right up until 1914. The ratio between the sexes in this first period is indicated in table 3E.

TABLE 3E PERCENTAGE OF MEN & WOMEN STUDENTS
ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY 1899-1914

Year	Winter session %		Total session %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1899-1900	86.1	13.9	87.0	13.0
1904-1905	81.7	18.3	81.0	19.0
1909-1910	71.7	28.3	72.3	27.6
1914-1915	59.0	41.0	59.9	40.1

This table shows that the position of women students increased over the period and began to represent a significant proportion from 1910 when 28.3 per cent of students were women. The female percentage had risen by about 5 per cent between 1900 and 1905 and a further 10 per cent between 1905 and 1910. The gap between men and women had lessened although already the effects of wartime had begun to show. It should be noted that the figures used to compile the matriculation data are taken from winter session matriculations but the total session figures, including the summer session figures as noted in table 3E show that there is only very slight variation in the percentages from the winter session figures and the rate and extent of the percentage movement is in the same direction.(18) One of the reasons for the low female ratio in the pre 1914 era is the male dominance in the Medical faculty and this will be discussed below.

The number of women who matriculated in 1899 was 107 . By 1914 this figure had risen to 328, a significant increase in the number of women students entering the university. It should of course be noted that this figure is an indication of the total matriculation pattern in each session and the graph itself is not an indicator of first time entrants, the figures not always being available. The overall figures are a strong indicator of input to the university.

18. See appendix 3.1

From Appendix 3 it will be seen that there is an additional student group which is mentioned separately in the Statistical Returns. These are the non-matriculated students attending degree courses or special non-degree courses. Although there is no male-female breakdown in the published sources, the presence of this extra student group should be noted.

The First World War had a dramatic impact on the matriculation pattern and especially on male entrants but even so 236 men were still students in the 1917-1918 session, the lowest point on graph 3.6. Women students maintained their steady rise although there was a slight decrease from 328 women in 1914-1915 to 291 in the following session. By the next year, 1916-1917, the winter session matriculations for the first time showed an overall predominance of women students over men. A total of 334 or 58.6% of students in this year were women and in the next session, 1917-1918, this figure had risen to 373 or 61.3% of total student matriculations.

The end of the war saw a readjustment to the matriculation pattern and a dramatic recovery by male entrants after their wartime decline. This readjustment however for women was one of maintenance of their pre 1914 progress in terms of their numbers. The male-female student ratio reached the highest female percentage of student numbers in session 1927-28 when 41% of students were women. The annual male-female percentages are given in table 3F.

Both table 3F and the general matriculation graph (3.6) show the fluctuations of inter-war student matriculations.⁽¹⁹⁾ The post-war recovery phase sees a dramatic increase in male students and a corresponding steady increase in women students. The 1920s is a period of fluctuating statistics and is followed by downturn in the 1930s with both male and female numbers declining.

TABLE 3F FULL-TIME STUDENTS ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY
BY PERCENTAGE SHARE 1919-1939

Year	Male %	Female %
1919-20	69.3	30.7
1920-21	67.8	32.2
1921-22	66.7	33.3
1922-23	34.1	35.9
1923-24	59.5	40.5
1924-25	60.6	39.4
1925-26	60.8	39.2
1926-27	60.0	40.0
1927-28	58.9	41.1
1928-29	61.8	38.2
1929-30	64.4	35.6
1930-31	66.5	33.5
1931-32	66.9	33.1
1932-33	67.7	32.3
1933-34	70.3	29.7
1934-35	70.1	29.9
1935-36	72.0	28.0
1936-37	72.3	27.7
1937-38	69.5	30.5
1938-39	66.8	33.2

(Source: UGC Returns)

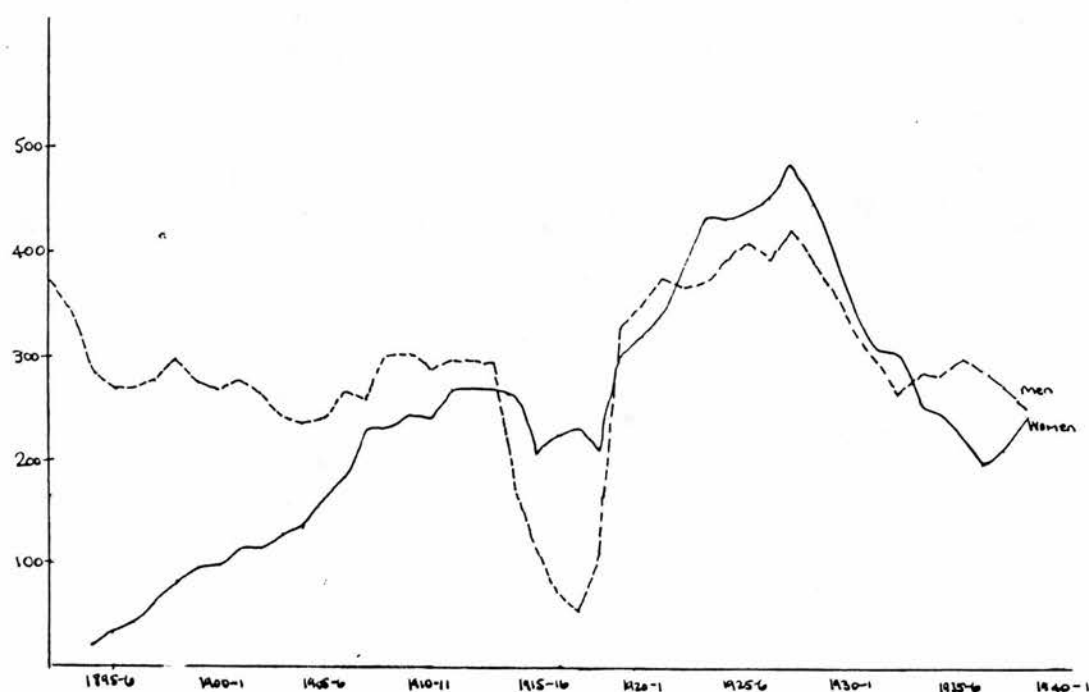
19. See also Appendix 3.2 for the full UGC figures. The female Scottish average is to be found in table 3C on page 205.

From the detailed student statistics in Appendix 3 and table 3F it is also evident that the drop in women students at Aberdeen between 1929 and 1932 is greater for women than men, decreasing from 465 in 1929 to 391 in 1932 a drop of 15.9 per cent from the 1929 figure. The drop in the number of male students for the same years is from 843 in 1929 to 818 in 1932 only a drop in percentage terms of 3 per cent. Three years later in 1935 the female figures have further reduced to 340, a decrease of 51 or 13.4 per cent from the 1932 figure, the equivalent figure for men students being an increase of 7 per cent on the 1932 figure. This reveals the discriminatory effects of the economic depression on women students. The lowest female-male ratio at Aberdeen in the interwar period is to be found in 1936-37 when the percentage of women students dropped to 27.7 per cent.

The breakdown of the matriculation statistics into faculties reveals the areas of sharpest decline and fluctuation. In Graph 3.7 we see the pattern of matriculation in the Arts faculty. In the first period, pre 1914 the pattern matches the general trend with decline in the early part of the 1890s giving way to a steady pattern with slight fluctuation but remaining fairly steady. The number of women Arts students for the same period increased dramatically until 1911 when they remained fairly static for the next three years alongside

a similar static pattern for men. In table 3F above the male-female ratio is balanced towards the men but looking specifically at the Arts figures the ratio of women to men is much closer. In session 1904-5, 36.6 per cent of Arts students were women and five years later this figure had increased to 44.6 per cent. The increase in women Arts students is partly explained by the changing regulations under the Provincial Committees for the Training of Teachers requiring college or university attendance at either concurrent or consecutive courses and partly by the increasing number of women generally taking advantage of the opportunities in higher education.

GRAPH 3.7 FACULTY OF ARTS , ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY



By the outbreak of war, women students had overtaken their male counterparts, not due to any increase in the women's position but rather from a decline in the number of men as can be seen from graph 3.7. In fact the number of Arts women was also declining in 1914 and 1915 but their position of majority was sustained by further declining male numbers. In 1917-1918 the number of Arts men was only 55 or 19.1 per cent of Arts students.

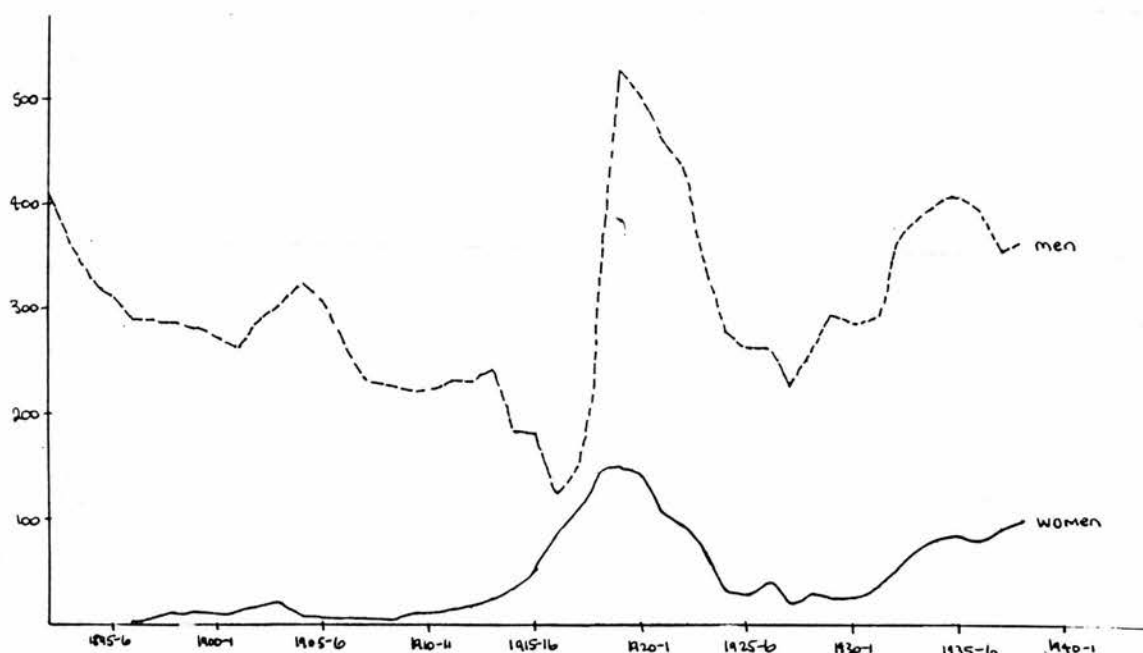
Once the war ended, the majority position of women was briefly arrested by returning servicemen before a surge of women into the Arts faculty in the 1920s occurred which reached a peak in session 1927-28 when 486 women matriculated as full time students in the Arts faculty.(20) This high figure, when 53.4 per cent of Arts students were women, explains the highest overall female-male ratio of 41.1 per cent noted above in table 3F. It should be noted that there was no downward adjustment to the post-war boom and that decline only occurred at the onset of the Depression years. The impact of declining teaching vacancies hit women harder than the men as seen from Graph 3.7 although women began to show signs of recovery by 1938.

The fortunes of women students however lay very much with the Arts faculty. On a par with the Arts faculty in

20. The UGC Returns included Law and Theology in the Arts totals.

quantitative terms is the Medical faculty but the statistical picture is quite different from the Arts faculty. Graph 3.8 tells an interesting story. In the pre-1914 period the Medical faculty is dominated by men and the presence of women medicals is almost negligible.

GRAPH 3.8 FACULTY OF MEDICINE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY



The male curve shows a decline in the early 1890s followed by a temporary increase between 1902 and 1904 but is thereafter in decline. The First World War was very much a watershed for women medicals in that there was an unbroken increase throughout the duration of the war from 37 women in 1914 to 147 women in 1918. The ratio of women

medicals moved from 16.6 per cent in 1914 to 35.2 per cent in 1918.

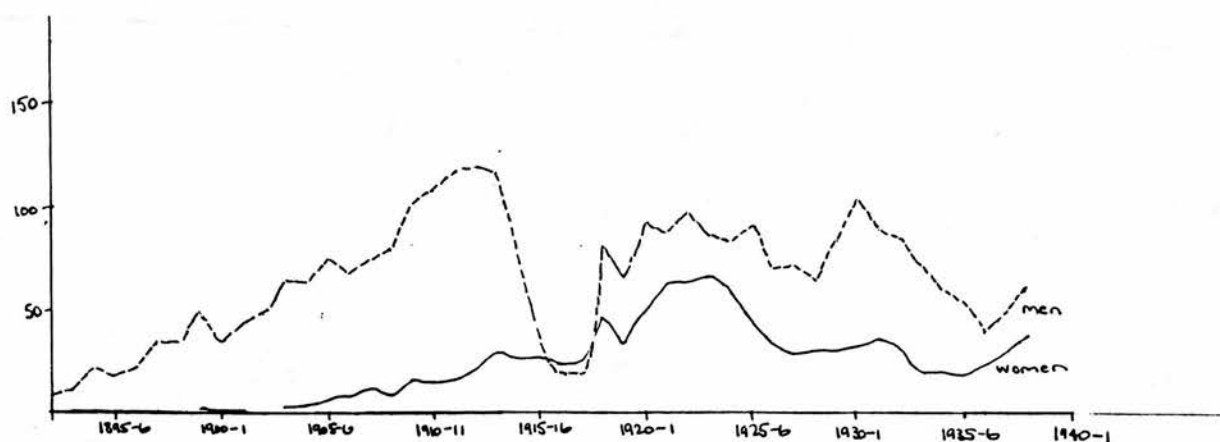
However these significant gains in the admission of women to Medicine did not continue. Following on from an immediate post war boom in the demand for new recruits to the medical profession which encouraged more women to go into medicine, as indicated on the medical graph, the position of women medicals declined from 152 in 1919-1920 to 21 in 1927-28. This was the year when Aberdeen women had the highest entrant ratio to men in the entire inter war period yet ironically it had the lowest female medical representation. This low was reversed in the 1930s with both the men and women's statistics showing the same pattern of movement although the numerical gap between them was large. In 1935-36, for example, only 85 or 17.2 per cent of 494 medical students were women.

In the Science faculty the position of women is also weak, reflecting the general trend for women to avoid science based subjects. Graph 3.9 indicates the pattern of matriculation. The number of science women never exceeds 70. (21) Looking at Graph 3.9, in the pre-1914 period women make some steady gains but this is more than offset

21. The UGC figures are for Pure Science and do not include science subjects grouped under the Technology heading. Details in Appendix 3.2.

by the increase in men science students, doubling their numbers between 1904 and 1912. This male increase is wiped out by the effect of war conditions as men students go off on military service. The women too experienced a slight decline.

GRAPH 3.9 FACULTY OF SCIENCE, ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

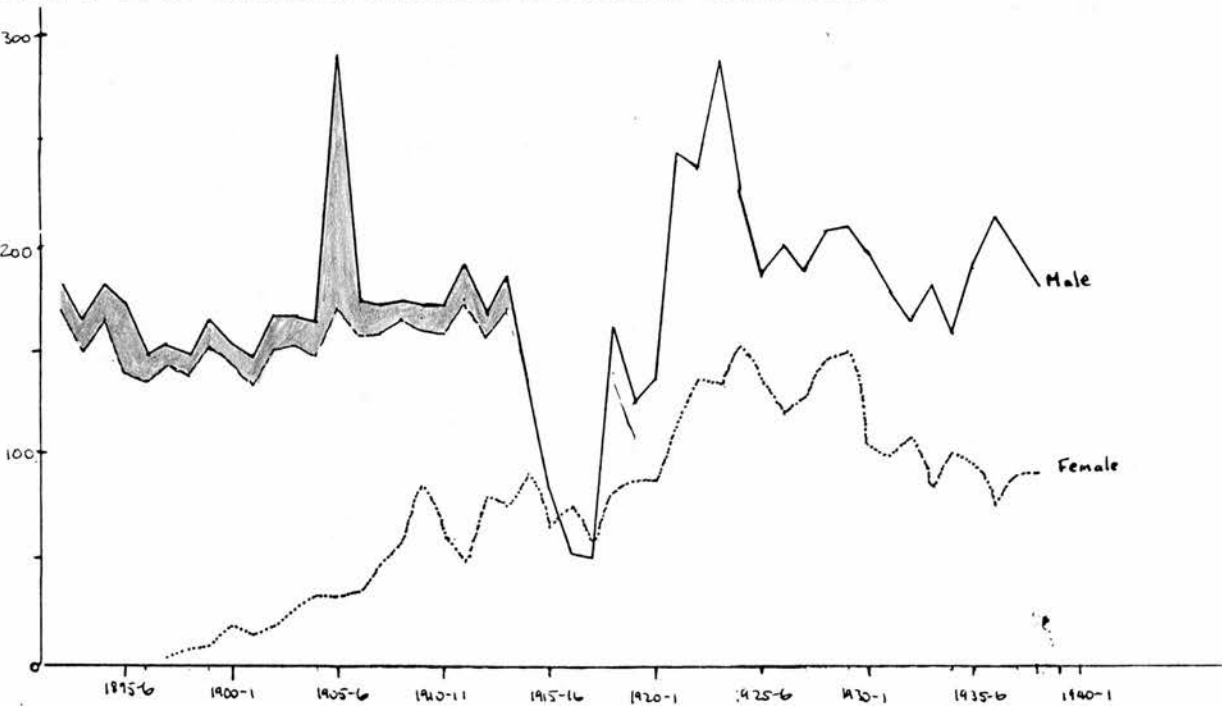


Despite fluctuations in the 1920s some increase in the number of full time Pure Science students can be seen but from the mid-1920s there were fewer women science students and men too were on the decline until 1937 when a revival of students numbers occurs.

Aberdeen University - Degrees Awarded

The statistics of graduation are illustrated on graph 3.10 below showing the total degrees awarded over the whole period 1893 to 1939. In the pre 1914 period the numerical gap between male and female graduates is apparent due mainly to the slow filtration of women through the various courses and on to graduation . (22)

GRAPH 3.10 DEGREES AWARDED ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY



22. See Appendix 3.3

Table 36 gives a detailed breakdown in summary form of the degrees awarded in the pre 1914 period. The total number of degrees , including Honorary , awarded at Aberdeen was 4311.

TABLE 36 DEGREES AWARDED ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY 1893-1914

Degrees	Men	%M	Women	%W	Total	%degrees to total
DD Honorary	116	100.0	-	-	116	2.7
LLD Honorary	280	99.7	1	0.3	281	6.5
Higher (all)	348	99.5	2	0.5	350	8.1
MBChB/MBCM	1025	97.7	24	2.3	1049	24.3
BSc	250	88.7	32	11.3	282	6.5
BL/LLB	102	100.0	-	-	102	2.4
BD	99	100.0	-	-	99	2.3
MAhons/MA ord	1413	69.5	619	30.5	202	47.1
TOTALS	3633	84.3	678	15.7	4311	100.0

The percentage ratio of women receiving degrees is 15.7 per cent to a male percentage of 69.5 but excluding honorary and higher degrees the women's position is slightly improved to 18.9 per cent. The percentage ratios by faculty are noted above also and show that the Arts faculty dominates. Women Arts graduates accounted for 30.5 per cent of Arts degrees although in some years the ratio was higher.(23) It is also clear from table 36 that the majority of women's degrees were awarded in the Arts faculty. In the medical faculty , the runner -up in terms of total degrees , women had few representatives . Only 2.3 per cent of medical degrees were awarded to women,

23. See Appendix 3.3

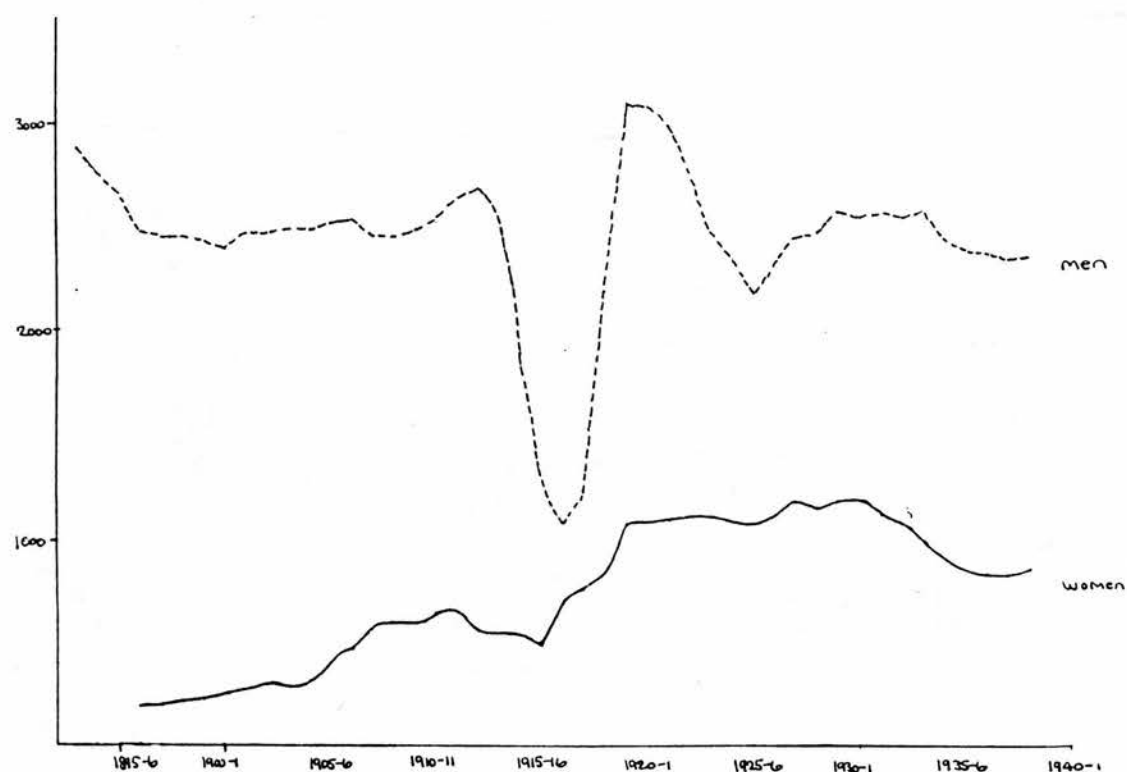
reflecting the low medical matriculation figures already noted. In addition many of the these medical degrees were received by women already holding an Arts degree so this would also offset the total to some extent. The Science faculty shows a healthier position as far as women are concerned with 11.3 per cent of science degrees awarded to women. However the discontinuity of the First World War in terms of matriculation is reflected in the graduation statistics but any matriculation fluctuations during the war itself will not be reflected in graduate output until after the war. However some changes occurred. In Arts women graduates over the four year period totalled 264 compared to 113 men but in the same period the number of Arts degrees for both men and women was declining. In medicine the 1914-1918 period shows no change in the graduation pattern for women, remaining low throughout. The tally for the degree of MBChB between 1914 and 1918 was 144 men to 15 women. In science there was a very noticeable decline in the number of graduates of both sexes. Only 20 men and 10 women received science degrees during the war. The statistics for graduation from the Returns of the University Grant Committee are also illustrated on the degree graph.(24) What is most notable is the post war bulge in graduate output followed by fluctuation and decline in times of economic depression.

24. See appendix 3.4

Edinburgh University - Matriculation and degrees 1893-1914

Turning to Edinburgh University the pattern of student admissions over the period 1893 to 1939 is displayed on Graph 3.11 below showing the division of the matriculation trend into three distinct time phases of pre 1914, First World War and inter-war. (25)

GRAPH 3.11 MATRICULATION AT EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY
1893-1939



25. The detailed figures are to be found in Appendix 3.1 and 3.2.

One of the first points to note is the evident gulf between male and female students throughout. This is a reflection in part of the size of the institution within the capital city which was well established prior to the Ordinance of 1892 and had developed over many generations into a significantly large university community with well developed faculties in Arts and Medicine. The impact of the admission of women students into a large institution is therefore notable and perhaps for the reasons of being well established the impact of women students takes longer to show. Yet the aggregate female matriculation figures at Edinburgh University in terms of total female Scottish student enrolments are a significant proportion of that total.

In the pre 1914 period the number of women students remains low in comparison to the male intake. Table 3H below shows the ratio of men to women students at four selected bench mark years. Only in session 1896-7 it should be noted do the Statistical Returns differentiate male and female students although women had been matriculating since 1892 and by 1896 192 women were matriculated students.

TABLE 3H PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS
EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

Year	Winter session				Total (including summer)			
	men	women	%M	%W	men	women	%M	%W
1899-1900	2416	221	91.6	8.4	2562	227	91.9	8.1
1904-1905	2490	312	88.9	11.1	2726	317	89.6	11.1
1909-1910	2485	587	80.9	19.1	2685	594	81.9	18.1
1914-1915	1941	537	78.3	21.7	1975	540	78.5	21.5

The improvement in the ratio of women students is slower to develop in the pre 1914 period because of the large number of men over half of whom matriculate in the medical faculty where prior to 1916 women do not normally go through the formal matriculation process and this is discussed below. However in fifteen years the percentage of students who were women rose by 13.3 per cent from 8.4 per cent to 21.7 per cent. The movement of the female percentages for the summer session are very similar to the winter session figures . (26)

26. See page 199 for discussion on the inclusion of summer session.

The growth in the number of women matriculating can be seen from 1905 on graph 3.11 and is related partly to the changing demands of the training of teachers under the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers and partly to the availability of Carnegie Trust funds for student grants. (27) There was a slight decline during the war but from 1916 the female figures rose steadily. The impact of the First World War on student numbers was again most dramatic in terms of the rapid decline in male matriculations. The ratio of total number of men to women students changes during the war although throughout all faculties the number of women never exceeded that of men. In session 1916-1917, 683 women or 38.5 per cent of students were women, the highest proportion in the entire period 1892 to 1939.

Post-war adjustment after 1918 saw an increase in both the number of men and women although the progress of women students remained consistent thereafter in contrast to the decrease in the men's figures as the post war bulge corrected itself to a more normal pattern; there was a decrease in the male intake of about thirty per cent. After 1924 the male matriculation curve moves more steadily upwards to a level on par with the pre 1914 figures averaging between 2500 and 2600 students. The pattern then changes in the 1930s to one of decline. From 2546 men in session 1932-3 the movement is downwards during the years

27. See Chapter 6.

of depression to 2346 men in session 1937-8, a decrease in percentage terms of 7.85. The impact of economic depression on women is more apparent with their numbers reducing from 1083 in 1932-3 to 828 in 1937-38, a decrease in percentage terms of 23.5 per cent on the 1932 figure.

TABLE 3I FULL-TIME STUDENTS EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY
BY PERCENTAGE SHARE 1919-1939

Year	%men	%women
1919-20	74.2	25.8
1920-21	74.1	25.9
1921-22	73.1	26.9
1922-23	71.2	28.8
1923-24	69.1	30.9
1924-25	67.3	32.7
1925-26	66.8	33.2
1926-27	67.5	32.5
1927-28	67.4	32.6
1928-29	68.2	31.8
1929-30	68.5	31.5
1930-31	68.2	31.8
1931-32	69.6	30.4
1932-33	70.2	29.8
1933-34	72.1	27.9
1934-35	72.7	27.3
1935-36	73.7	26.3
1936-37	73.9	26.1
1937-38	73.9	26.1
1938-39	73.6	26.4

(Source : UGC Returns)

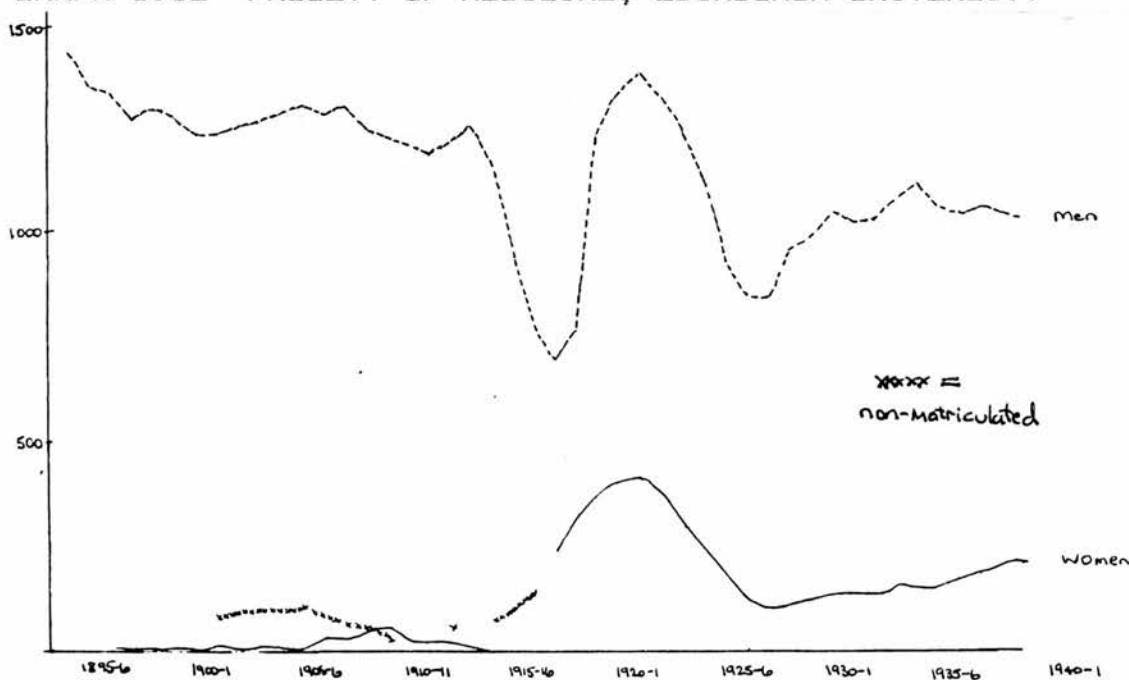
Over the two post war decades the ratio of male to women students fluctuates and table 3I shows the lowest female ratio of 25.8 per cent recorded in 1919-20 and the highest in 1925-26 when the ratio of women students reached 33.2 per cent although this was still not as high as the First World War period. (28)

28. See table 3C for Scottish female averages.

Looking more closely at the three key faculties of Arts, Medicine and Science, the pattern of matriculation is more variable than the general trend might suggest. The Medical Faculty was the largest at Edinburgh University pre 1918 and is therefore the first to be considered here. Graph 3.12 reflects the development of the faculty and its position within the university structure.

The graph shows the pattern of matriculation over the three time phases but it is less than satisfactory in its coverage of the women medicals. The gulf between men and women is very apparent and the evidence shows that the pre-1914 women medical students had made little inroads into the male dominance of the medical faculty despite the highly publicised battle by the pioneer women to gain admission. The non-matriculated medical women are partially included in the graph when the statistics were available to indicate that even if included women still made little impact in the Medical Faculty.

GRAPH 3.12 FACULTY OF MEDICINE, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY



Indeed most of the medical education of women was conducted in the separate women's medical school where women attended separate classes although they did graduate under the auspices of the university. (29) The statistics show that some female matriculations occurred in the medical faculty, perhaps for specific courses not given at the colleges. The slight upsurge in recorded female medical matriculations from 1905 might , as Anderson suggested be due to variation in matriculation practice and also probably due to attendance at special classes in the university when there was no provision in the Women's Medical College although information on this is not very clear. (30) By 1916 the position was resolved and women were fully admitted to medical classes in the university, their matriculation being recorded in the Statistical Returns published in the University Calendars.

The problem of comparison between men and women medicals is therefore evident from the comments above. Male medical students were numerically more dominant throughout. Their pattern of matriculation can be noted as one of decline in the 1890s followed by fluctuation although there is only slight movement until decline begins again from 1907 .

29. See Chapters 1 and 2.

30. Anderson, R. D., *op.cit.* page 353

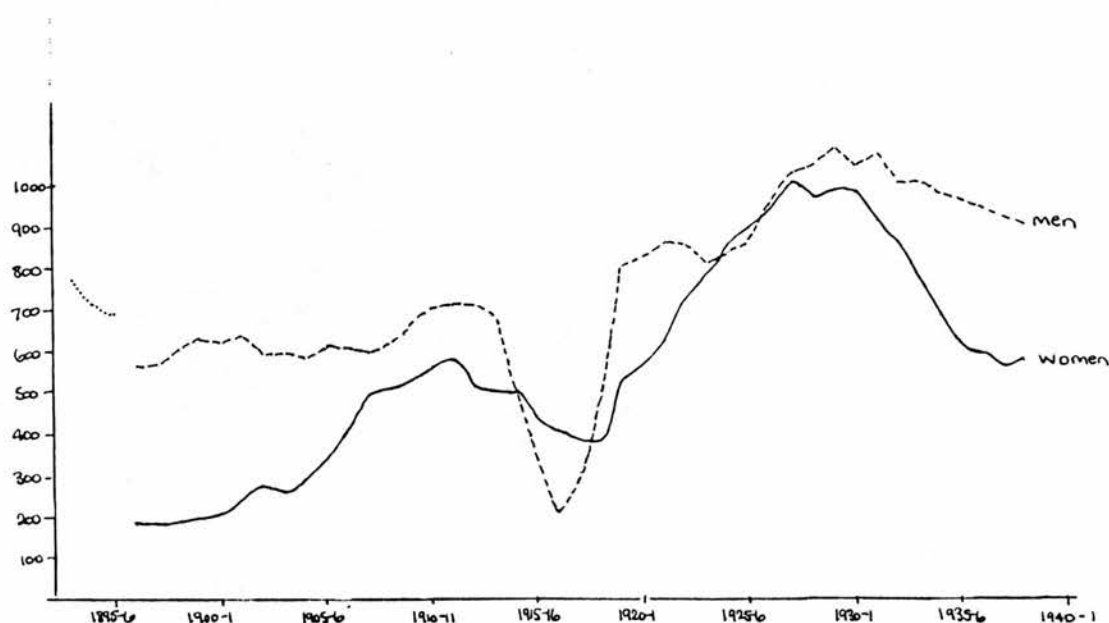
Specific causes attributable to the early decline in the Medical faculty were partly due to changes in the administration of the medical degrees with new degrees, Bachelor of Medicine(MB) and Master of Surgery(ChB) replacing the old MBCM degree and the lengthening of the medical course from four years to five. A slight increase in 1913 was followed by the dramatic plunge during the war. Rapid post war recovery ensued and was followed by an adjustment of the entrants' figures as ex-servicemen complete their studies. The movement of the women medicals curve is similar but the numerical gap between men and women remains a significantly large one.

Comparative statistics of the male-female ratio are therefore not worthwhile for the pre 1914 period given the reasons outlined above. However , in 1916 when the first significant recorded female medical matriculations occurred, 237 women to 696 men matriculated in the medical faculty and the percentage female ratio was 29.7 per cent.

During the inter-war period the gap between male and female medical students remained great. At the lowest point in 1925-26 when 973 students matriculated in Medicine only 129 or 13.2 per cent were women. This low female ratio occurred at a time when the total female matriculation ratio was 33.2 per cent. At the highest point in session 1920-21 1800 students entered medicine and 371 or 20.6 per cent were women.

The medical faculty had been overtaken by the inter-war period in statistical terms by the progress of the Arts faculty. Graph 3.13 plots the pattern of matriculation in the Arts faculty and reveals a quite different pattern to medicine. Here women students keep closer to their male colleagues pre 1914. Women Arts students increase in number from 183 in 1896 to 400 in 1906 and peak at 580 in 1911 while the men remain steady until 1908 when they too share the increasing pattern in matriculations. In 1899-1900, 23.8 per cent of Arts students were women, increasing by 1909-1910 to 44 per cent and reaching near parity in 1914-15 at 49.6 per cent although the effects of war were beginning to show.

GRAPH 3.13 FACULTY OF ARTS, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY



A contemporary commentator of the university and one time Principal, A Logan Turner, accounts for some of the statistical changes in the Arts faculty in the University's History. He noted that one of the key factors was the admission of women, reversing an initial overall decline in the 1890s. He also noted that the institution of a separate science faculty was also a reason for the apparent decline in the Arts faculty although it can be seen from Graph 3.11 that the decline was a general one and not solely accounted for by loss of Arts students to the Arts faculty. Turner also noted the twofold increase in the number of Arts women between 1895 and 1905. (31)

Wartime saw decline for both men and women in the Arts faculty although the dramatic decline in the male figures was not unexpected. Women Arts students in fact outnumbered men consistently throughout the war years even when the overall Arts figures were in decline and in 1916-1917, 66.4 per cent of Arts students were women, accounting for the previously noted high female ratio in the total matriculation figures. Turner in fact noted that of the men students left most were under age for military service. (32)

31. Turner(ed), A. Logan History of the University of Edinburgh, 1883-1933. (1933), page 166

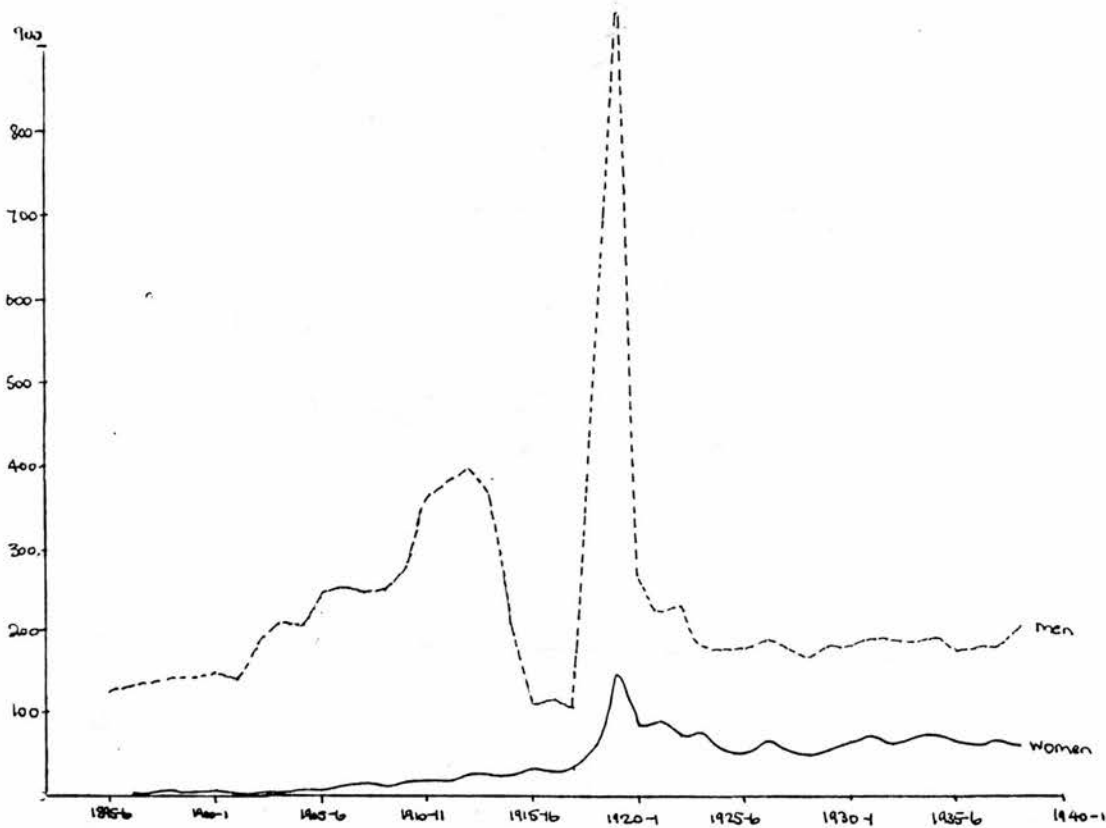
32. ibid.

The decade of the 1920s maintained the position of women Arts students and indeed the entire picture was one of growth with little readjustment after the post war bulge. By 1927-28 , 1005 women were matriculating in Arts to 1029 men, a position again of near parity and this was reflected in the UGC Returns in table 3I when the 1927-28 session recorded the highest ratio of women students.

However the 1930s statistics do not show any continuance of the growth in Arts students. Both men and women declined in number but the decline for women was greater. Male Arts students declined by 79 students from 1003 in 1932 to 924 in 1937 , a decline in percentage terms of 7.9 per cent on the 1932 figure. In contrast Arts women declined by 303 from 861 in 1932 to 558 in 1937 or a 35.9 per cent decrease on the 1932 figure emphasising quite clearly the discriminatory effect of economic depression.

Yet another variation in student matriculations emerges with the Science faculty. (Graph 3.14) Similar in some ways to Medicine, women made little impact on science matriculations prior to 1914 at a time when the male statistics revealed a trend of rapid development. The lack of women science students reflected very much attitudes towards the kind of academic subjects thought to be most suitable for women and indeed a reflection of the choice of most women themselves to go into the Arts faculty. A calculation of the male-female ratio for the pre-1914 period has like medicine not been given because of the very low female representation.

GRAPH 3.14 FACULTY OF SCIENCE, EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY



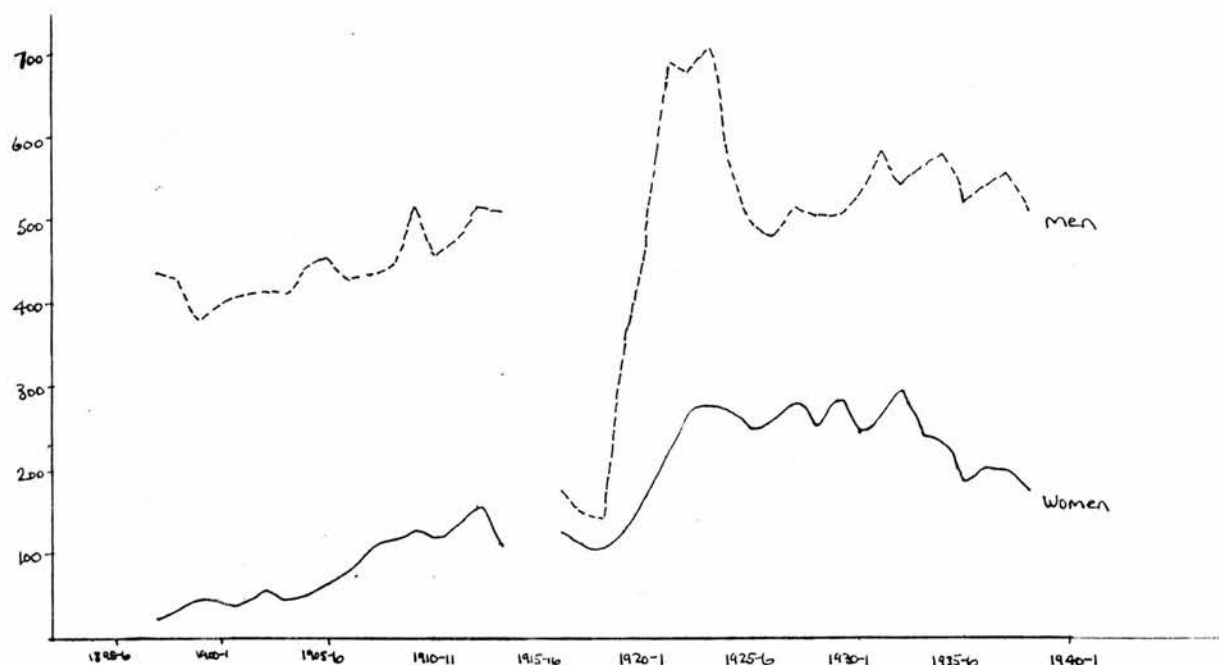
The First World War period was one of decline and rise in the fortunes of the male science students but there was little movement in the women's figures until 1918 when the female science entrants increased to a new plateau above the fifty mark. In session 1919-20 however there was a sudden and dramatic leap in male science students to 939. This immediately was balanced downwards the following year to 268. The science faculty showed little fluctuation during the rest of the 1920s and significantly no decline in the 1930s unlike Arts or Medicine. The ratio of women to men remained fairly constant in the 25 to 27 per cent area. (33)

33. The UGC figures only include Pure Science.

Degrees

The unsatisfactory nature of some of the statistical information on degrees awarded at Edinburgh means that the following commentary on degree trends is punctuated by a minor cautionary note. The figures for the pre 1914 period have been adjusted from the Parliamentary Papers (Annual Statistical Returns) to allow for the graduation of women which occurred pre 1896 when the returns omitted any male - female breakdown. The University Calendars were used to manually count the data for women graduates. The pattern of degrees conferred on men and women at Edinburgh in the period 1892-1939 are recorded on graph 3.15 and tabulated in appendix 3. (34) The graphical evidence shows fluctuation and again the three time phases are apparent

GRAPH 3.15 DEGREES AWARDED EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY



34. See Appendix 3.3 and 3.4. Note that the figures for the 1914-18 period were incomplete and have been omitted here.

Table 3J indicates the aggregate total for degrees awarded in the period prior to 1914, the first time phase under discussion.

TABLE 3J DEGREES AWARDED AT EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY 1892-1939

Degrees	men	%M	Women	%W	Total
DD	106	100.0	0	0	106
LLD	254	99.2	2	0.8	256
Higher DLitt/	26	100.0	0	0	26
Music	18	69.2	8	30.8	26
DSc	111	99.1	1	0.9	112
BSc	863	95.8	38	4.2	901
LLB/BL	296	99.3	2	0.7	298
MD	1416	97.9	31	2.1	1447
MBCM/MBChB	3785	94.2	235	5.8	4020
MA hons/MA	2334	68.3	1081	31.7	3415
Totals	9337	87.0	1398	13.0	10735

The graph and the table above show that women graduates only start to make a significant impact from the mid 1900s. Until that time the women graduate figures were below 100 and only a quarter on average of the number of men graduates. The aggregate totals therefore in table 3J reflect this. Excluding honorary degrees makes little difference to the overall ratio of men to women graduates. The dominance of the male medical graduates overshadowed the better Arts performance for women graduates in the aggregate total when 31.7 per cent of Arts degrees were conferred on women. Arts degrees accounted for 77.3 per cent of all degrees received by women.

The number of women science graduates was also low in the pre 1914 period reflecting the preference of women for Arts subjects and reflecting also the science faculty matriculation pattern. Some of the women's BSc's would also have been second degrees. There were only two women who took law degrees in this period.

However despite the low ratio of women to men this should not hide the fact that 1398 women graduates left Edinburgh University with degrees prior to 1914, an achievement of which the pioneers would have been justly proud.

The 1914-1918 war caused upheaval and dislocation in the graduating trend. Only in the Arts faculty did women show increase but this was related more to a comparative decline in men graduates than any improvement in women graduate output. Again it should also be noted that the effect of the increased female matriculation figures was delayed until after the end of the war.

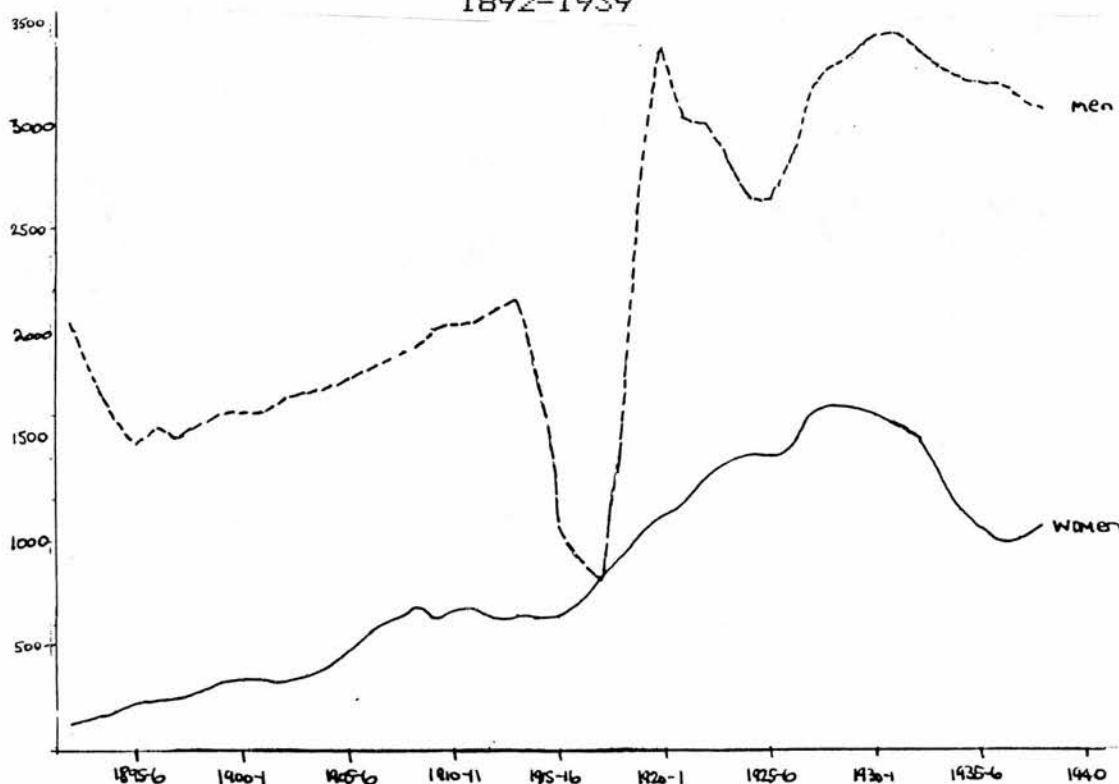
The inter war period shows a general picture of post-war recovery followed by a time of readjustment in the 1920s and fluctuation in the uncertain times of the 1930s. The decline for women graduates was more severe than for men dropping from 296 in 1932 to 169 in 1939, a reduction of 127 or 43 per cent on the 1932 figure. The equivalent decline for men was from 522 in 1932 to 512 in 1938 a drop

of only 0.2 per cent although the male graduate patterns did fluctuate more in that period. The percentage share of women graduates in 1932 was 36.2 per cent compared to a male share of 63.8 per cent and this was the highest annual output of women graduates in the inter-war period. (35)

Glasgow University - Matriculation and degrees 1892-1939

The student matriculation pattern at Glasgow University divided into the now expected three distinct periods of pre-1914, 1914-1918 and inter-war. These are clearly illustrated on graph 3.16 below. (36)

GRAPH 3.16 MATRICULATIONS - GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
1892-1939



35. See Appendix 3.1 and 3.2

36. *ibid.*

While the 1890s saw a decrease in the number of men students, the number of women students at Queen Margaret College continued to expand. (37) Therefore both men and women students increased in number with only minor fluctuations in the women's figures until 1914. The increase from 1905 is notable and is related to changes in the regulations for the training of teachers. The gap however between the sexes is large and table 3K shows how slowly the ratio of women to men improved in the pre 1914 period. Glasgow University, like its counterpart in Edinburgh was a well established, traditional academic centre and it therefore took longer for women to make any impact although Glasgow's share of total Scottish female matriculations was not insignificant.

TABLE 3K PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS
GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

Session	winter session				Total (winter + summer)			
	men	%	women	%	men	%	women	%
1899-1900	1604	82.9	330	17.1	1689	83.2	341	16.8
1904-1905	1731	81.3	398	18.7	1849	81.6	418	18.4
1909-1910	2012	75.9	638	24.1	2086	76.5	642	23.5
1914-1915	1765	73.8	625	26.2	1835	74.3	635	25.7

By 1910 women students accounted for 24.1 per cent of student numbers compared to 17.1 per cent in 1899. Thus their position had improved over the sample bench mark

37. See Chapter One for details of development of QMC.

years and indeed the annual figures also reflected this movement. (38) Inclusion of summer matriculations slightly lowers the women's percentage but the scale and direction of the percentage changes is the same. By 1914 the impact of war began to be felt and the improvement in the women's position was due to a decline in the men's figures and not to any improvement in their position.

The pattern of female matriculations then declined slightly during the first two years of the war but then began an upward continuous movement and in the winter session of 1917-18 women students exceeded men for the first time. The University Calendars noted that a significant number of men left after the session commenced to go on military service so in fact the decline in male figures is likely to have occurred earlier and to have been greater than illustrated on the graph.

A post war boom or bulge reversed this male decline and there was a dramatic increase in the number of men students. The number of women also grew steadily but did not adjust downwards after the end of the boom phase in contrast to men students. The most noticeable feature of the inter-war period at Glasgow University was the expansion of student numbers to new levels.

38. See appendix 3.3

The breakdown of full-time student numbers into the percentage share between men and women is illustrated in table 3L below and it is apparent that as well as the number of women increasing throughout the percentage female share of student numbers also improved on the pre 1914 level. (39) The highest percentage of women occurred in session 1924-1925 when the figure is 34.7 per cent. This was the year which saw the end of the post war boom in the number of male matriculations. The lowest female percentage of 23.6 per cent was reached in session 1936-37.

TABLE 3L FULL-TIME STUDENTS, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
BY PERCENTAGE SHARE 1919-1939

Session	male	female
1919-20	72.8	27.2
1920-21	75.2	24.8
1921-22	71.7	28.3
1922-23	69.5	30.5
1923-24	67.2	32.8
1924-25	65.3	34.7
1925-26	65.1	34.9
1926-27	66.0	34.0
1927-28	65.7	34.3
1928-29	66.5	33.5
1929-30	66.9	33.1
1930-31	68.1	31.9
1931-32	68.6	31.4
1932-33	69.5	30.5
1933-34	71.7	28.3
1934-35	73.8	26.2
1936-37	76.4	23.6
1937-38	75.7	24.3
1938-39	74.2	25.8

(Source: UGC Returns)

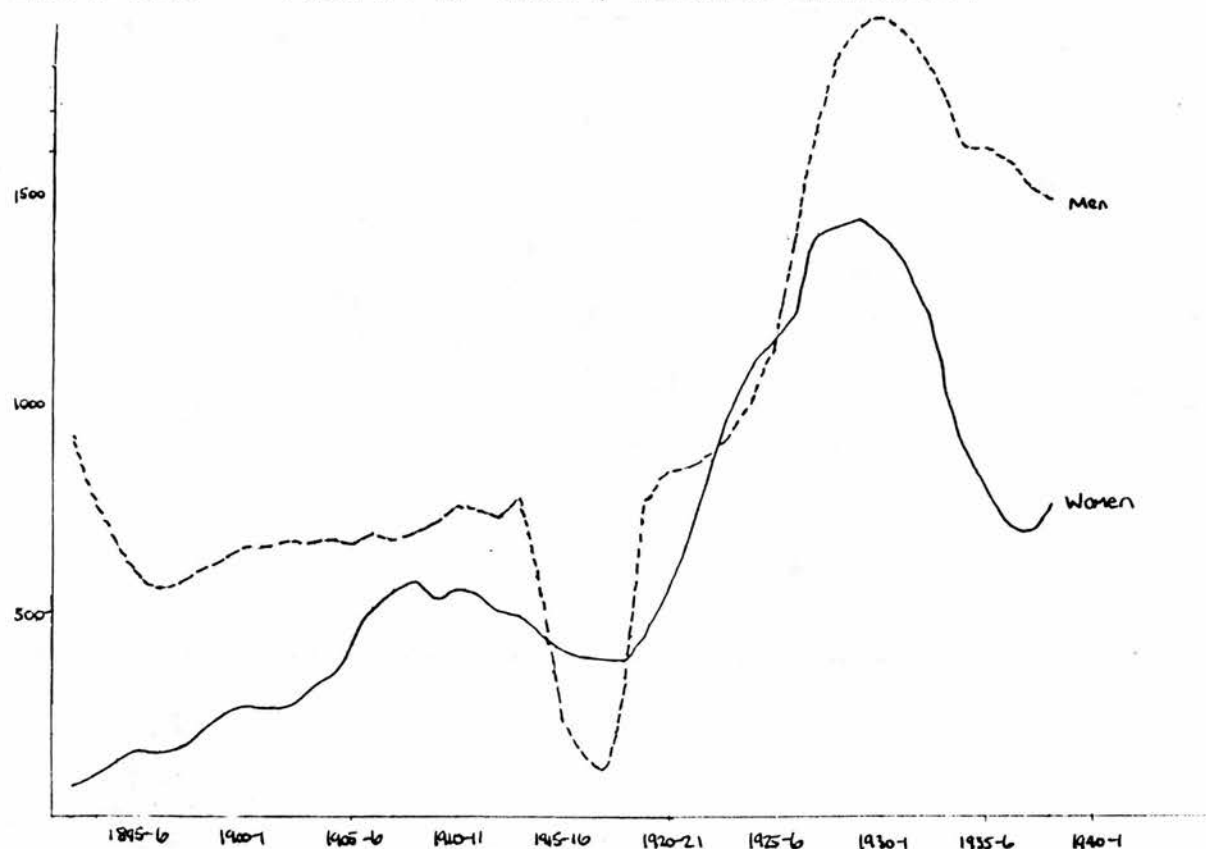
39. See Table 3C for female Scottish average

The decline in student numbers in the 1930s is evident on graph 3.16 as economic depression began to hit the industrial West of Scotland. The position of women students is less equal and their numbers decline more sharply than the men decreasing from 1570 in 1931-2 to 991 in 1936-37 a decrease of 579 or 36.9 per cent from 1931 to 1936 compared to a male decrease of 216 or 6.3 per cent on the 1931 figure.

Breaking down the matriculation figures into the three key faculties of Arts, Science and Medicine, a picture of diversity emerges which shows considerable variation from the overall matriculation trend.

In the faculty of Arts the matriculation pattern fluctuates widely as seen on graph 3.17 where the inter-war period dominates the visual evidence of student intake. Firstly, in the pre 1914 period, however the statistical evidence shows a fairly steady movement in the men's figures after a decline in entrants in the early 1890s. Women increased their numbers steadily throughout the period with a noticeable expansion from 1904 which was more rapid than the men Arts students. The pattern steadied towards the end of this first period and indeed women began to experience a decrease from 1911.

GRAPH 3.17 FACULTY OF ARTS , GLASGOW UNIVERSITY



The First World War period, as might be expected, was dominated by the sharp plunge in male matriculations. Women students also declined but they did outnumber the men for this brief period, albeit one of abnormal entrance conditions. At the lowest point of male Arts matriculations in session 1917-18 women account for 73.6 per cent of Arts students.

The end of the war saw the beginning of a boom period in arts matriculations.(40) Three key points can be made from the statistical evidence. Firstly, throughout the 1920s the number of Arts students at Glasgow University

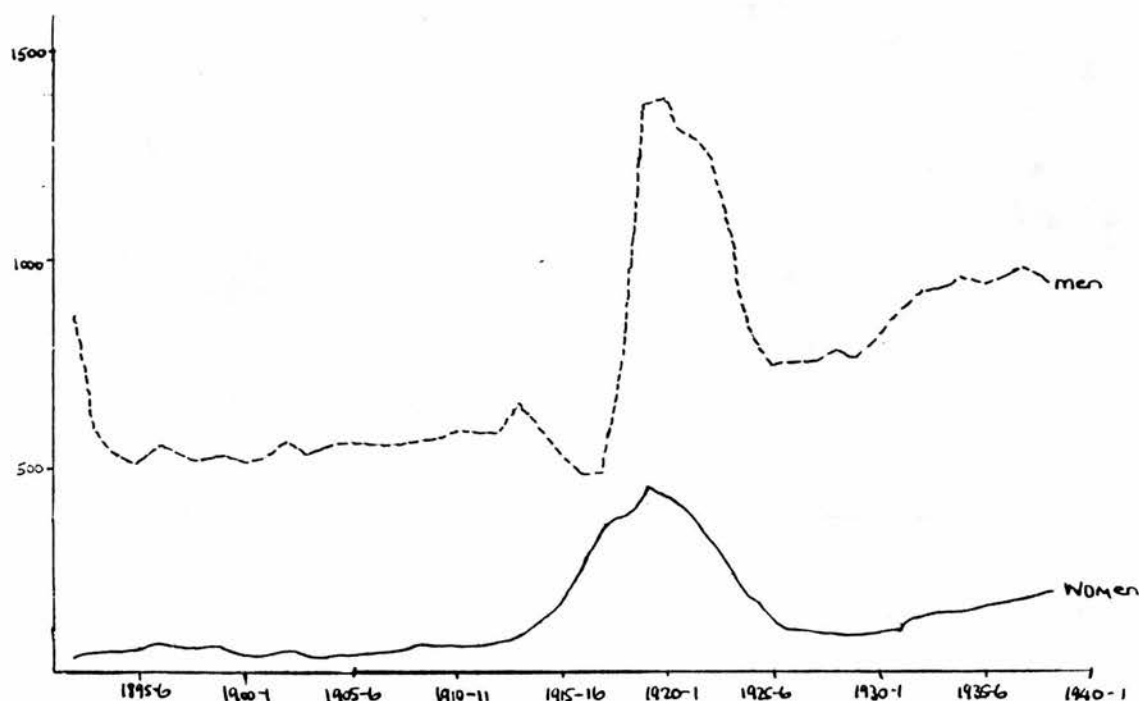
40. Again the UGC figures for the inter-war period contain Law and Theology in the Arts section.

did not decline - there was no readjustment to normality after the artificial pattern of post war boom as ex-Servicemen returned to complete their studies. The peak in fact of the male matriculations was reached in 1930 when more than double the number of Arts men were now matriculating in the Arts faculty.

There was a similar upward movement for women students and their peak figure of 1445 was reached in session 1929-1930. This figure was reduced by half by 1937 and indicated the second key point, namely the twofold effect of depression and the decline in the popularity of an Arts degree when teaching jobs were becoming difficult to obtain. The final point to note is that in 1938 the number of women began to rise slightly alongside continuing male decline.

The faculty of Medicine exhibits a more common matriculation trend as seen in graph 3.18 . The pre 1914 period was one of stability for both men and women student numbers. Medical women remained under 100 throughout. The men showed some decline in the early 1890s but then sustained their numbers until the First World War.

GRAPH 3.18 FACULTY OF MEDICINE , GLASGOW UNIVERSITY



The war itself had less effect on men medical students than in some other faculties because of the high demand for doctors. Indeed the women medicals increased rapidly throughout the war to more than triple the 1914 figure by 1919. (41) A post war bulge was followed by readjustment to a lower level. For men the late 1920s and 1930s was one of increase but was less so for women.

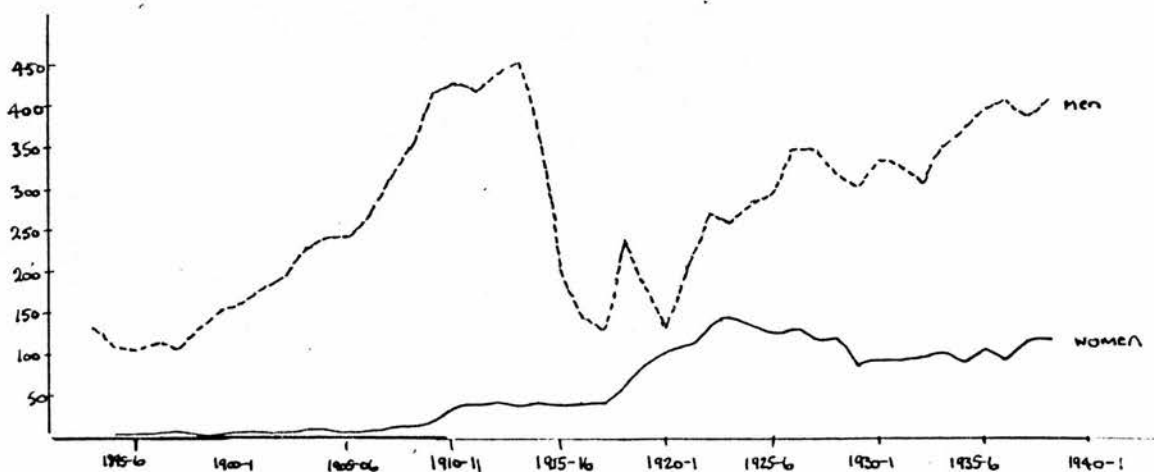
The gap between men and women however remained high throughout. The pre 1914 female percentage share was

41. See Appendix 3.1 and 3.2

seldom higher than 11 per cent. Only in 1917 did the female percentage improve to a high 42.9 per cent but this was entirely due to abnormal war conditions. The gap between men and women grew again in the 1920s and remained a notable feature of matriculations in the Medical Faculty.

The Science faculty is one of contrast to Arts and Medicine. However it should be noted that the graph only depicts Pure science students from 1919 and excludes Technology students which the UGC returns listed separately (42) Technology included engineering which at Glasgow was of major importance but was totally male dominated. The male science pattern is therefore more erratic because of the discontinuity of the statistics.

GRAPH 3.19 FACULTY OF SCIENCE, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY



42. *ibid.*

Graph 3.19 shows that in the pre 1914 period rapid growth ensued for men due to the development of engineering and other science subjects, followed on by sharp decline during the war and thereafter fluctuating upwards.

Women science students only showed a token presence prior to 1914. The representation of women in the Science faculty was very low in the pre 1914 era, reaching its lowest percentage in 1913 when only 7.2 per cent of science students were women and again the dominance of engineering subjects included in this first time period would account for their low representation. Improvement in the women's position did occur during the war when more women did matriculate but after 1918 the female share of science students increased and fluctuated between 18 and 22 per cent remaining at this level during the postwar boom period between 1920 and 1925. The closest point occurred when 132 men and 103 women were science students according to the UGC returns. A further 1001 men were listed in the Technology section which if included would override the apparent improvement in the number of science women.

Degrees

An introductory note of explanation is necessary to the following statistical assessment of degrees awarded at Glasgow University. The listing of the degree statistics was hampered by a particular source problem ; namely the failure of Glasgow University to include in the Annual Returns any breakdown of the degrees into men and women graduates. Hence the degree breakdown per session into degree type gave no indication of the number of women graduates in the academic session. This was unexpected as Glasgow University was one of the earliest to report male-female matriculation statistics. This source problem is another example of the variation in the presentation of statistics by the Scottish Universities.(43)

To resolve this problem , matriculation data gathered for a case-study of Glasgow women graduates was utilised. The data had been arranged to list women graduates by their year of graduation to link directly to the General Council Lists of Graduates.(44) However the requirement for the present assessment was to have a statistical breakdown by academic session (from 1st October of one year to 30th September of the next) . In order to achieve this, the total graduate figures were extracted from the Annual Returns. Then the annual female graduate figures were re-ordered by manual sorting into graduates by academic

43. See this chapter, pages 197-199

44. These lists were used for the career analysis of Glasgow women. See Chapter six.

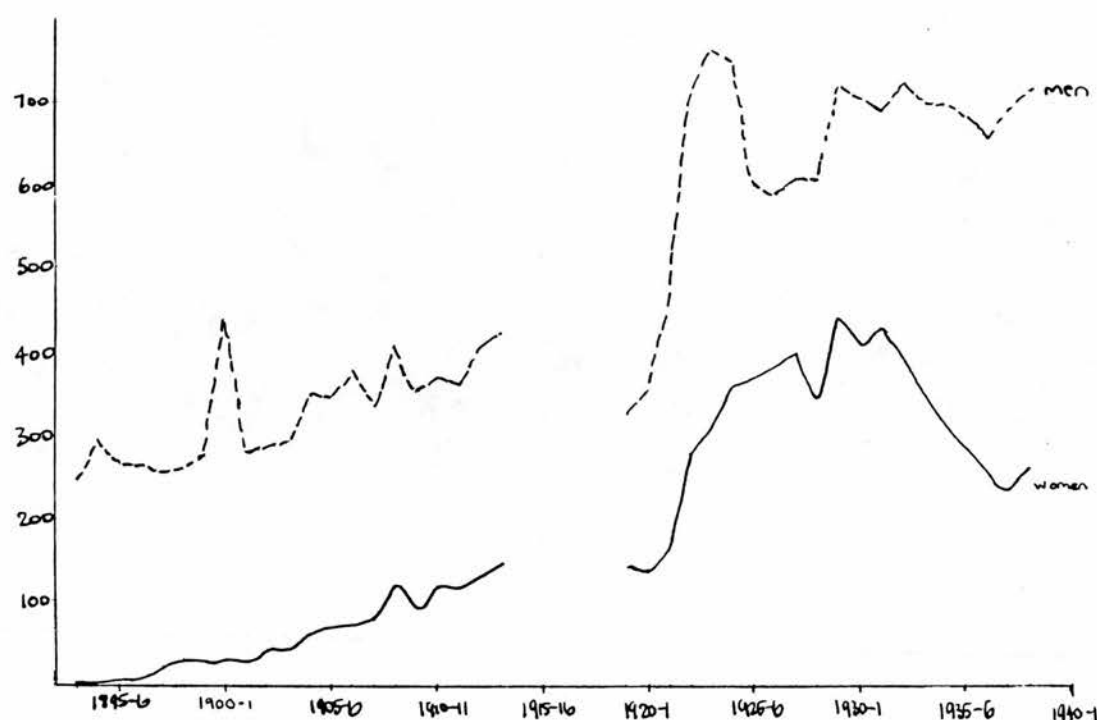
session . The main task was to place the women graduates into the appropriate session according to the month of their graduation . Graduations took place throughout the academic year, generally in April, June, July and then November. Women graduate figures were then subtracted from the total degree statistics to give a count of men graduates. It was felt this was a more accurate tally of the graduate output than a simple subtraction of annual women graduate statistics from the total sessional figures which would have skewed the graphical presentation.

Thus the outflow of graduates from Glasgow University was calculated by the method outlined above and the results are displayed below on Graph 3.20. The graph illustrates the graduation trends over the three time periods from 1893-1914, 1914 to 1918 and the inter-war years.(45)

It is quite clear from the graph that the pattern of graduation is one of fluctuation. In the pre 1914 period there was a steady increase in the number of women graduates although the men showed more fluctuation. The peak of men graduates in 1900 is explained by the awarding

45. See Appendix 3.3. and 3.4

GRAPH 3.20 DEGREES AWARDED - GLASGOW UNIVERSITY 1893-1914



of a larger number of honorary degrees than normal in celebration of the University's 9th Jubilee. Looking more closely at the breakdown of degree for the pre 1914 period the position of women can be ascertained. Table 3M shows

TABLE 3M DEGREES AWARDED, 1893-1914, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

Degrees Awarded	men	%	women	%	Total	%
DD/LLD (Honorary)	466		-		466	5.7
DSC/DPHIL/DLITT (Higher)	88		-		88	1.1
MD (Higher)	493		-		493	6.0
MBCM / MBChB	1911	92.1	163	7.9	2074	25.4
MAhons/MAord	2488	70.1	1059	29.9	3547	43.4
BSc	872	97.5	22	2.5	894	10.9
BD	278		-		278	3.4
BL / LLB	332		-		332	4.1
TOTALS	6929	84.8	1244	15.2	8173	100.0

that in aggregate terms over the period up to 1914 the overall percentage share of women graduates is only 15.2 per cent. However the majority of women graduates numbering 1059 received their degrees in the Arts faculty. (85.1 per cent of all women's degrees) The female percentage share of Arts degrees is 29.9 per cent compared to a male figure of 70.1 per cent and overall Arts degrees are dominant with 43.4 per cent of all degrees being the Master of Arts degree.

In medicine only 7.9 per cent of the degrees were awarded to women. This figure however is based on first degrees only. It should be noted that a number of women took a medical degree as a second degree after taking Arts or Science degree. These were not included in the female tally. They would in fact be counted as normal degrees in the Annual Statistical Returns and therefore will still be included in the men's figures. No adjustment has been made for second degrees in Table 3M as the figures were too small to greatly alter the percentages. It should also be noted that approximately fifteen women took the higher degree of MD after their first medical degree and again these are still included in the male figures.

One further point should be noted regarding the medical figures. The medical degree, MBCM , was in fact awarded in two parts as was the revised degree under the new Ordinances, the MBChB. These degrees were listed in the Returns under the two parts of MB and CM or ChB and included in the totals as separate degrees. From session 1909-1910, although the degrees were still listed separately, adjustment was made in the medical degree totals by halving the number of medical degrees (excluding the higher degree of MD). This avoided counting twice the number of medical graduates. Although the adjustment was not carried out prior to 1909 by the authorities it has been adjusted here to ensure comparable statistics and accuracy throughout the period under discussion.

The Science faculty produced few women graduates although again it should be noted that a handful of women did take the science degree as a second degree. No adjustment was made in the Table for this because of the very small percentage change involved.

The statistics of degrees conferred in the period 1914-1918 proved to be incomplete but the trends revealed in the pre 1914 era continued, reflecting the matriculation trends as they were altered by the War.

Then there was then a dramatic leap forward in the graduate statistics in the immediate post war recovery phase as returning ex-servicemen completed their studies and others took advantage of the scheme to attend university. After the period readjustment in the mid to late 1920s, a clear change emerged in the graduation trend as the effects of economic depression set in. By the end of the 1930s there were signs of recovery in both the male and female statistics although it is evident from Graph 3.20 that the effects of declining numbers were much greater for women than men. The number of men graduates (including higher degrees) declined from 725 in session 1932-1933 to 654 in session 1936-37, a decrease of 71 or 7.8 per cent on the 1932-33 figure. The decline for women was greater falling from 397 to 252, a decrease of 145 or 36.5 per cent on the 1932-1933 figure.

Matriculation and Graduation Trends

The preceding commentary has shown that the experiences of the four Scottish Universities are both diverse and similar with regard to matriculation and graduation. The similarities are highlighted by the division of each university's progress into quite clear and distinct time periods and by the impact of external forces of change on the internal development of each university. There are three clear time divisions although within each period sub-division can be made. There is the pre 1914 period when the impact of the new women entrants is most clearly demonstrated. Secondly, there is the watershed of the First World War and thirdly there is the interwar period when the universities all experience the effects of economic downturn. The differences of experience emerge in a closer study of faculty development and the position of women students within each individual university.

The pre-1914 period

The first very noticeable feature of matriculation in the 1890s is that of downturn in the number of men entrants. All four universities exhibit the same pattern of male decline, a decline partly explained by the changing regulations under the new Ordinances issued after the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1889 which set up separate science faculties, extended the medical course from four to five years and reorganised the Arts curricula. It is

also explained by the institution of a Preliminary Examination for entrance to the universities which initially slowed down the number of new applicants. The decline however was not a trend experienced by the new female entrants whose pattern of matriculation was upward and steady. Indeed many of the new women entrants in the first two or three years were women who had previously attended the classes of the various Associations for the Higher Education of Women and would have the necessary qualifications for entry and often a Certificate in Arts or similar qualification in recognition of their attendance at the classes. (46)

The second feature which pertains most particularly to women students is the upsurge in numbers from 1905. This is a quite clear reflection of two factors. Firstly the regulations for the training of teachers underwent reorganisation with the setting up of the Provincial Committees for the training of teachers and the growth in concurrent courses between training college and university. Secondly, from 1901 Scottish students were given financial assistance from the benefactions of Andrew Carnegie. The Carnegie Trust provided for the payment of fees to all students of Scottish birth. This provision was later watered down to incorporate a means test but in the period under discussion it was a major innovation and had a significant effect on the number of students able to

46. See Chapter One, pages 85-6, and Chapter Two, page 163

attend the Scottish Universities. Logan Turner notes that in respect of Edinburgh University a larger proportion of women than of men in the Arts Faculty were in receipt of Carnegie grants. (47)

A tabular impression of the changing position of women students at the Scottish Universities is given in Table 3N and shows the numeric and percentage position of women with reference to their male counterparts at three sample years.

Several key points emerge from this summary table. Firstly, St Andrews University has consistently, over the three bench mark dates, the highest female student percentage share. As early as session 1899-1900 , 30.2 per cent of students were women. Glasgow University was second with 17.1 per cent and Edinburgh University was lowest with only 8.4 per cent of its students being women. By session 1904-1905 , 42.6 per cent of students at St Andrews were women and this was a rise of 12.4 per cent from the previous sample year. This was an increase over the five year period almost three times greater than any of the other three universities. By session 1909-1910, 44.2 per cent of students at St Andrews were women. Thus in the pre - 1914 period the position of women in relation to a percentage share calculation was strongest at St Andrews University and this is the first key point.

47. Logan Turner, A., op. cit. page 166

TABLE 3N MATRICULATION AT THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES 1899-1900, 1904-5, 1909-10

University	session 1899-1900		session 1904-5		session 1909-10	
	men	% women	men	% women	men	% women
St Andrews	264	69.8	268	57.4	312	55.8
Aberdeen	661	86.1	674	81.7	681	71.7
Edinburgh	2416	91.6	2490	88.9	2485	80.9
Glasgow	1604	82.9	1731	81.3	2012	75.9
SCOTLAND	4345	84.9	5163	83.0	5490	75.9
		772		1060		1741
		15.1		17.0		24.1

However a second point can also be made if a numerical tally is utilised. In Table 3N on the previous page the statistics show that for all the bench mark years Glasgow University has the largest number of women students in relation to the other three universities. Table 3P shows the female percentage share of all four universities in relation to total female matriculations.

TABLE 3P EACH UNIVERSITY'S %AGE SHARE
IN RELATION TO TOTAL FEMALE MATRICULATIONS

SESSION	StAU	AU	EU	GU	Scotland
1899-1900	14.8	13.9	28.6	42.7	100
1904-1905	18.8	14.2	29.4	37.5	100
1909-1910	14.2	15.5	33.7	36.6	100

In Table 3P Glasgow's share of Scottish women entrants, while it is increasing in numeric terms, is declining in relation to its share of the Scottish total. Edinburgh and Aberdeen increase over the three bench mark years while St Andrews' share shows slight variation by increasing and then declining. Obviously the selection of these sample years has been chosen to highlight the dominant features of the pre 1914 changes and the selection of other years might produce a little variation in the position of each of the four universities in relation to the Scottish total. However the trend is quite clear. The statistics of St Andrews University show that it has the best ratio of women to men students within the Scottish Universities.

Glasgow University on the other hand has the highest number of women students in relation to the total number of women students. Perhaps in their own way both Glasgow and St Andrews epitomise the major features of change in the higher education of women, namely the overall growth in the number of women student numbers and the proportional improvement of women students in relation to the men. In addition the Scottish percentage average of men and women students noted in Table 3N above also shows that the position of women was stronger by 1909 than it had been ten years earlier. By 1909 nearly one quarter of matriculated students were women.

The impact on quantitative terms of women students has therefore been quite clearly demonstrated by 1914 but what of the output from the Scottish Universities in the same period? The graduate statistics presented in tabular form in the previous commentary and summarised in Table 3Q show the diversity of experience of the Scottish Universities but perhaps the similarities outweigh the differences of the graduation patterns. (48)

48. Table 3Q summarised from tables 3D, 3G, 3J and 3M.

TABLE 30

TOTAL DEGREES AWARDED
1893-1914

	men	%	women	%	total
St Andrews	1378	71.9	537	28.1	1915
Aberdeen	3633	84.3	678	15.7	4311
Edinburgh	9337	87.0	1398	13.0	10735
Glasgow	6928	84.8	1244	15.2	8172
Scotland	21277	84.7	3857	15.3	25134

St Andrews University is again the top university with a female percentage share of its total graduates of 28.1 per cent but the Scottish average of 15.1 per cent is a truer reflection of the position of women graduates from the Scottish Universities. In relation to the matriculation statistics one would expect Glasgow to emerge as having the most women graduates but it is in fact Edinburgh which has the highest number of women graduates in relation to the total women graduates figure and indeed Edinburgh has the highest number of graduates.

The position of women is much weaker in graduate terms in Scottish terms than the previous matriculation statistics might have seemed to forecast and only 15.3 per cent of all degrees being female is very low relative to men. Yet the total of 3857 women graduates from the Scottish Universities taken on its own is a significant figure reflecting the growth and development of a mixed university system.

Of these women's degrees, 3283 or 85.1 per cent were Arts degrees - the majority of women chose an Arts degree with a view to entering the teaching profession. Concurrent courses in conjunction with the Training Colleges contributed to this Arts dominance but the choice of an Arts degree by women was also related to contemporary opinion and the social acceptability of women taking Arts degrees. Women carved their own niche in the universities, concentrating on the MA Ordinary degree as a main route into teaching, few taking the less feminine choices of medicine, law or science.

Women therefore drifted towards the curricula which would suit them best and would conform to the contemporary attitudes towards women in higher education and to having a career. An Arts degree as part of a general education and academic enrichment was one thing but a degree in medicine, for example, which threatened the professional situation of their male counterparts was quite another matter. Medical and Science subjects were still very much new ground for women and it took much longer for women to be accepted into these courses or indeed for women to choose to enter these fields. The career openings in medicine and science were also much more limited.

The First World War

The 1914-1918 war was quite clearly a watershed in university developments. War-time interrupted the normal pattern of university recruitment and arrested the progressional trend of women student numbers. For women students, the War was a time of great change. There was the emotional impact of losing brothers, boyfriends and fellow students to military service and seeing their names on lists of the wounded or "fallen" . Beyond the external impact of war on their lives there was also the effect of war on women students and on new first-time woman entrants. The Universities were changed places in wartime : the classrooms were half empty, the curricula was disrupted and the social life of the university in disintegration. (49) However one positive effect of war was its impact on female student numbers and the relative position of women within the Scottish Universities in relation to men. Through the vagaries of war , women students were numerically for the first time in a dominant position. Table 3R shows the percentage share of women students in relation to total matriculations and in relation to the Arts faculty where the women's position had been strongest prior to the outbreak of war. The academic session was selected for each university

49. See Chapter 4 on lifestyles.

according to the highest matriculation figures in the 1914-1918 period. From these figures, it is quite clear that , albeit temporarily, the position of women had never been stronger. The foregoing commentary on the statistics of the individual universities has shown that not only were women "marking time" but that they increased their numbers during the war. The war had a devastating effect, reducing the male student population by half. The effect may even have been greater if allowance were to be made for the number of students who left after term commenced.

TABLE 3R PERCENTAGE FEMALE SHARE OF
 (a) TOTAL MATRICULATIONS
 (b) ARTS FACULTY MATRICULATIONS

	(a) Total %		(b) Arts %	
	1916-17	1917-18	1916-17	1917-18
St Andrews	64.0	-	77.0	-
Aberdeen	-	61.3	-	80.9
Edinburgh	38.5	-	66.4	-
Glasgow	-	50.6	-	73.6

In the Arts faculties there was a slight reduction in the number of women but with the sharp decline in male figures the percentage of women Arts students to men remained higher than the pre war levels. In the Medical faculties there was a noticeable turning point in the medical matriculation trend with women rising sharply at all four

universities. (50) The apparent increase in overall numbers of women students is due mainly to this disproportionate increase in the medical faculty. The reasons for the increase in female medicals were twofold. The conditions of war and the demand for extra doctors were one reason. At Edinburgh University there was the additional effect of women medical students being admitted formally as full matriculated students in the Medical faculty in 1916. The women medicals had previously attended the women's Medical School. At the beginning of the 1914-1915 session at Glasgow there were 137 medical women but this had risen to 471 by 1918. The number of women in the Glasgow Arts faculty in contrast actually declined from 447 in 1914 to 384 by 1918. At Aberdeen, the number of Arts women declined from 264 in 1914 to 211 in 1918 whereas its medical faculty saw an increase from 37 to 247 in the same period. At St Andrews University the number of Arts women declined from 134 to 113 in 1918 but the medical women increased from 26 to 83 in the same period.

Referring to Table 3R, in terms of total matriculations, St Andrews comes out top again with 64 per cent of students being women but it is Aberdeen which leads with the highest percentage share of women in its Arts faculty.

50. See previous discussion and tables in Appendix 3.

The statistics indicate a significant shift in the position of women within the universities but abnormal conditions of war make any definite conclusions unrealistic.

Thus in terms of quantitative significance the war can be seen as being beneficial to women, especially to women medical students. Medical women had had a long and protracted struggle to gain acceptance and the figures show that their position at least in terms of statistical equality was improving and more important was maintained after the war ended. Many women felt that by continuing to attend the universities in time of war they were in some way helping the war effort by keeping the universities in business until the men could return to complete their studies. (51)

The pattern of graduation during the war was totally disrupted and this is reflected in the availability of statistics. The reporting of the Annual Statistics to the Secretary for Scotland apparently ceased and the University Calendars did not provide full graduation statistics. Hence the ability to conclude on the wartime graduation pattern has been hampered.

51. Mrs Calder, tape no 2

The 1920s and 1930s

Although the inter-war period has been referred to as one distinct period of university development, it was in fact a period with many facets to it. Indeed there was a two phase division into years of recovery and depression. These phases were not however clearly defined into decades. Nor can they be drawn together into one common Scottish trend. While the changes and developments of the inter-war period were common to each of the four universities, they did not occur at the same time to form any general pattern. For example, the years when recovery, readjustment or decline took place varied across the universities.

Comparing the Scottish situation with the rest of the UK the effects of war in 1919 saw less increase in the number of students compared to elsewhere and overall Scotland's share dropped from 37.7 per cent of students in the UK in 1913 to 30.1 per cent in 1919. Thus the increase in the Scottish Universities' number of full time students was less than that of the other countries. This was significant enough to be referred to in the UGC Report for 1921-1922 noting that the value of a university education was increasingly being recognised especially after the

lessons of the First World War but the report also commented on the variation in the Scottish pattern :

'... the smaller increase in Scotland is in no doubt due to the fact that the war found what we may call the "university habit" already established there by long tradition, assisted as it has been since 1901 by the operations of the Carnegie Trust for the Scottish Universities.' (53)

This is a valid point although comparison of the post-war figures with the pre 1914 figures is difficult given the impact of the war on student numbers and the interruption of the normal matriculation trend after 1918 as large numbers of ex-service students entered the universities. The UGC also noted the impact that war had on the development of the faculties with a greater need being shown for more scientific training and greater knowledge of foreign countries and languages. Hence the inter-war period saw a shift from the more traditional academic subjects to the newer subjects like Languages and Science. The war had also created a demand for doctors to replace those lost in the field and to cope with the increase in medical care required. This is quite clearly shown in the medical faculties graphs presented earlier.

It soon became evident however that the war had not realised all the hopes for openings and new opportunities for which the new breed of university women had hoped. In

53. UGC Report, 1921-1922, page 4

1929, the UGC looked back over the preceding decade and noted the general trend of increase in the number of men students but a decline in the number of women students. It attributed the increase in men students in Scotland quite specifically to the impact of depression in commerce and industry in the 1920s which caused an increased entry, the explanation being that in bad times boys left school and went to university either to delay career choice or to go into teaching. In better economic conditions the argument ran, it was reckoned that boys went directly from school to commercial posts. The UGC could find no single reason for the decline in the number of women but noted the unrealised expectations of the effects of war and the greater impact of economic depression on girls because there was a precedent claim of sons over daughters to have educational and career opportunities. Certainly the statistics have shown some differentiation of experience between men and women but perhaps more so in the 1930s when again economic uncertainties influenced the matriculation pattern. (54)

The swing in choice of faculty in the 1920s clearly moved to the Arts. Glasgow University is the best example of this with an increase in numbers of Arts students from 1935 in 1923 to 3275 in 1928. (55) The UGC Report noted

54. UGC Report, 1928-29 *passim*

55. See Graph 3.17

that the Scottish trend to move towards Arts was 'intensified by the official requirement that only graduates can now normally be admitted to the Provincial Centres for training of men teachers.' (56)

The next five year review from the UGC noted variation in the Scottish trend compared to Great Britain. There was an overall British increase in students of 11 per cent but a decline in Scotland overall. The decline in women students in Britain was also mostly to be found in Scotland. Indeed the decline in Scottish numbers was believed generally to have been caused by the lack of opportunities for graduates to find employment, especially in teaching and this is reflected in the matriculation trends at each of the four Scottish Universities in the 1930s.

Looking more closely at the individual universities in Scotland, two sample years have been selected and tabulated in table 35. The variation in the timing of decline and increase of student numbers in the 1920s and 1930s means that the selection of two bench mark years appropriate to all the Scottish centres has to be an approximate choice. The mid-period of each decade was chosen; firstly in the 1920s to allow for the effects of the post war boom to have subsided and in the mid 1930s to show the effect of the economic depression. These academic

56. UGC Report, 1928-29, page 6.

years do not necessarily coincide with the high and low points of the percentage share of women students.

Table 3S FULL TIME STUDENTS AT THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES 1924-25 AND 1934-35

University	1924-25					1934-35				
	m	%	w	%	total	m	%	w	%	total
STAU	334	54.9	274	45.1	608	571	64.7	312	35.3	883
AU	833	60.6	541	39.4	1374	846	70.1	361	29.9	1207
EU	2340	67.3	1086	32.7	3326	2437	72.7	915	27.3	3352
GU	2655	65.3	1409	34.7	4064	3241	73.8	1149	26.2	4390
Total	6162	65.1	3310	34.9	9472	7095	72.2	2737	27.8	9832

Comparing the two sample years in table 3S, the impact of the intervening years of depression are evident in the reduction of the female percentage share of total students at each university. (57) Only at St Andrews University did the actual number of women increase although the percentage movement is downwards. Glasgow University had the highest number of women students in real terms at both sample years although again the position of women had weakened.

The percentage share of men and women students were noted for each university from the UGC Returns in previous sections in this chapter. The highest values of these percentage shares indicating the position of women students occurred in the 1920s - at St Andrews in session

57. See Appendix 3.2

1924-25 with 45.1 per cent of students being women, at Glasgow and Edinburgh in session 1925-26 with 34.9 per cent and 33.2 per cent respectively and at Aberdeen , somewhat later, in session 1927-28 with 41.1 per cent. St Andrews had the highest percentage of women students, thus continuing the pre-1914 trend.

The lowest points of female percentage share of full-time students occurred in the 1930s. (58) Even then, St Andrews had the highest with 34.9 per cent in 1932-3. Edinburgh's share dropped to 26.1 per cent, Aberdeen had 27.7 per cent and Glasgow had the lowest of the four at 23.6 per cent, all in session 1936-7. Therefore the timing of the increases fluctuated in the 1920s whereas in the 1930s the lowest points, with the exception of St Andrews, occurred at the same time thus reflecting the more uniform effects of the depression in the 1930s. From the inter-war period statistics one further summary point can be made concerning the position of women students and this pertains to the position of women at each university in relation to the total number of women entrants. From the data in table 3S the distribution of women students in Scotland was calculated on a percentage basis and is illustrated below in table 3T.

58. This discounts the lowest Edinburgh figure in 1919-20 and 1920-1 when 25.8 per cent of students were women.

TABLE 3T PERCENTAGE SHARE OF TOTAL WOMEN STUDENTS
AT THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES

	1924-25	1934-35
St Andrews	8.3	11.4
Aberdeen	16.3	13.2
Edinburgh	32.8	33.4
Glasgow	42.6	42.0
Scottish Universities	100.0	100.0

Glasgow University again has the largest share of women students in Scotland thus continuing the pre-1914 trend.⁽⁵⁹⁾ There is little change from the 1924-25 to 1934-35 although there would be some fluctuation in the intervening years. St Andrews increases its share to the detriment of Aberdeen. Thus the two largest universities dominate and attract most women students.

The graduate figures for the inter-war period were obtained from the UGC Reports but they were not divided into degree type therefore attention has been focussed on the pre-1914 era when the most significant changes took place for women students. The inter-war period was one of continuity of the pace of graduate output, affected as it was by the external factors of economic cycles and the fluctuations of the labour market to a greater extent than the earlier period. In addition the graduate group was a much larger and more anonymous one.

59. See table 3P

The main purpose of the statistical presentation has been to show the development of the position of women students at the Scottish Universities over the period 1892 to 1939. By 1914 nearly four thousand women had graduated and this was a major achievement bringing to reality the aims and aspirations of the Victorian campaigners and pioneers. If one were to add to this the women who took the LLA (Lady Literate in Arts), received college diplomas and similar awards, then a very significant number of women were in receipt of higher education by 1914 even if they could not match men students in pure numerical terms.

The key period of growth was the pre-1914 period when women established themselves as members of the academic world. A pattern of matriculation had been established and developed largely dictated by the demands of the teaching profession for new recruits. Women had made their mark on the universities and the steady outflow of women graduates proved that women were capable of attending university, passing examinations and graduating at the end of it.

The First World War had a devastating effect, temporarily, reducing the male student population by half. It also had a positive effect on the female matriculation trend and gave women a taste of a majority position. In particular the position of the medical women was strengthened.

The most significant aspect of the inter-war period was the effect of the impact of post war recovery and economic decline on the matriculation pattern . If anything, the acceleration of student numbers in the 1920s made the decline of the 1930s more drastic. Women students seem to have suffered more from the downward trend and to a greater effect in Scotland and more than in other parts of the UK. One new phenomenon emerged however in the inter-war period and that was the dominance of women in the Arts faculties at Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities a reflection of the particular system of teacher training which had evolved in Scotland by the 1920s.

Chapter Four

Lifestyles and experiences of women students: the oral evidence

Oral evidence has increasingly been seen as a useful tool in any historical analysis as a source of information which can stand alongside any other qualitative or quantitative data. The presentation of personal recollections of university women in written or taped form therefore gives a unique insight into their personal experiences of university, illuminating and highlighting many of the themes central to the present discussion. These can be divided into three areas. The first theme which will be looked at concerns social background and home life which largely influenced the outlook of the women students in later life. Secondly, there is the presentation of recollections about university experiences which although only covered a short time-period on average of three or four years made significant long-term impact on the lives of those involved. There were the 'internal' aspects of attending classes, examinations and graduation countered by the 'external' forces of change like the First World War which permeated all areas of society including the pace and atmosphere of university life. The third key theme to be examined highlights the social lifestyles at university, the conflicts between home and university life and the diversities of the women's experiences which pervaded their university years and conditioned their outlook and opinions.

Methodology

It was decided to interview women graduates from the four Scottish Universities to obtain a cross-section of experiences and recollections which would enhance the statistical, archival and other documentary material which was already available. In other words to stand the oral material alongside the other sources and to evaluate it as one would any other historical source. It was an attempt to give a more realistic account of women's experiences even given all the drawbacks and qualifications which the reminiscence process might produce in the way of romanticised recollections and poor memory recall.⁽¹⁾ It was also an attempt to supplement the printed recollection material available in various university journals, biographies and autobiographies. It may seem therefore that much of the material would turn out to be impressionistic and even misleading.

From the outset however it became apparent that any caution about interpretation of the recollections was more than balanced by the wealth of material which displayed the diversity of experience of women graduates; this diversity mirrored the factual information available about social origins. Assumptions about the middle-class nature

1. Reminiscence work with Older People in Scotland. (Proceedings of the Exploring Living Memory Conference November 1983); Paul Thompson, The Voice of the Past. Oral History (1978)

of these origins were reinforced to a certain extent by the oral evidence which revealed variation in parental status within a broad range of occupations in what one could analyse as the middle range of a general social classification.

The selection of interviewees followed the pattern of a snowball sample which began with a few personal contacts and very soon blossomed into a wider network of women graduates through personal contacts and friends, suggestions from university archivists and others who in the initial stages offered help and advice. Over two or three years therefore interviews were made with these university women and their recollections recorded, either on tape or in note-form if they requested the absence of the tape recorder. The equipment used was a basic cassette recorder and no attempt was made to use more sophisticated machines to achieve recordings more suited to sound archives' standards because essentially it was felt that the material was being recorded in the form of an historical notebook to record experiences and recollections rather than for reasons of dialect or language. The interviews have been transcribed to give reader access. (2)

The number of women interviewed during the research period has been tabulated in Table 6.1 to show the cross-section of graduates across the universities. Some women did take

2. I also received written reminiscences in correspondence with some women graduates who wrote to me after publicity in the Newsletter of the British Federation of University Women and also through the graduate network. These have been included in table 6.1

second and higher degrees including one taking a BSc after an MA and two who took PhDs but these have not been recorded on the table. It will be noticed that no graduates were interviewed from Aberdeen University. This was not a deliberate omission but one based on the informants with whom I had contact. To compensate for this some use was made of recollections in the Aberdeen University magazines.

Table 6.1 Number of Informants and University Background
(3)

	Taped	Interviewed	Letters	Total
Edinburgh				
MA	11	7	5	23
BSc				
LLB	1			1
MBChB		1		1

	12	8	5	25
Glasgow				
MA	9	6	1	16
BSc		1		1
LLB				0
MBChB	2			2

	11	7	1	19
St Andrews				
MA	4	1		5
BSc				
LLB				
MBChB	1			1

	5	1	0	6
Other Uni's		2	2	4
Total taped	28			
Total int'd		18		
Total notes			8	
<u>Total no of informants</u>				54

3. Five of the graduates who were taped or interviewed had graduated before 1914 and 12 graduated during 1914-18.

The 'other universities' category included one Oxford graduate and one Cambridge graduate, Miss Rackstraw the warden of Masson Hall and a very elderly Glasgow woman who wrote to me from Birmingham to give some account of her education which was at Cheltenham Ladies College and later Liverpool University. On three occasions I arrived at an interview to find unexpectedly a gathering of women graduates waiting to fill my notebook with reminiscences. At the first one, only two Glasgow women were present and this was a useful means of helping each other to recall certain incidents. At the other two meetings, one in Glasgow where five women were gathered and one in Edinburgh where three women graduates were assembled the results were less useful. It was difficult on these occasions to achieve a satisfactory recording when they all wanted to talk at once but they did provide interesting comparative details of background and experiences. For the purpose of presenting a statistical summary of the pattern of interviews these women have all been included as individual informants albeit they attended a group session.

The initial response from the informants varied considerably. 'Why do you wish to speak to me? I'm atypical' was one response. 'I really do not think I have much to tell you. You should speak to those women who did something with their lives' was another. One unique problem of interviewing university graduates is the

relationship of the interviewer to the informant. In this research two things soon became apparent. Many of the informants assumed previous knowledge of many aspects of university life because the interviewer had graduated from a Scottish University and this sometimes produced briefer explanations of particular events than one might have liked. A second problem in the oral evidence was reticence and hesitancy in making responses to questions. This is not new in oral history but in the case of university graduates, middle-class educated women, 'yes' or 'no' responses were sometimes only given after a pause to think and consider their answer. This sometimes made for a lack of spontaneity. Another strand to this reticence was a desire by some to have no recording of their discussion, this being a common problem in oral history and one which is not easily overcome. One informant edited as she went along by mastering the pause button on the cassette machine when she thought some of her comments ought to be for my ears only!

We will now go on to examine these recollections in some detail under the headings of family and social background, university experiences and lifestyles.

1. Social and Family Background

'The Scottish woman student herself is hard to describe, for she conforms to no one type, and belongs to no one class. The same democratic spirit that brings together, in a general academic life, the sons of the crofter, the laird, the tradesman, the minister, the rich man, the poor man, draws the women students too, from widely different homes, with widely different ideals' (4)

Writing in 1902, Frances Melville is describing in the above quotation a typical contemporary conception of Scottish student origins which reflected a widespread notion about the democratic nature of Scottish education. The purpose of this section is to investigate the social background of women students, partly to prove the assumption made by many historians that the majority of women involved in the women's movement in Britain in the late nineteenth century came from middle-class origins. (5) Indeed the very reason for the pursuit of higher education for women had arisen from the Victorians' concern with the plight of the unmarried middle-class daughter in an age when women had begun to look beyond the expected role of wife and mother as their final destiny.

4. Melville Frances, 'University education for women in Scotland: its effect on social and intellectual life' (paper read to the National Union of Women Workers) 1902.

5. Pederson has shown in her study of school mistresses and higher education that at Girton for example in 1894 58% of students' fathers were in the Professional group and 31% in the Business or trade. At Lady Margaret Hall, 93% were in business, trade or professions. Pederson, J S 'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: elites and education in nineteenth century England', Journal of British Studies vol 15, 1975-6, page 153

Olive Banks has shown in a recent study that 37% of her sample of feminists came from Professional backgrounds and 31% from Business. Banks, Olive, The Social Origins of First Wave Feminism (1986), page 11

It is not the purpose here to be drawn into the diverse arguments concerning the accessibility of education to the Scottish people which have already been studied by other scholars to varying degrees or to discuss in detail whether in fact there was an equivalent 'lass o' pairts' who through the ideals of a Scottish democratic education would obtain access to a university education no matter what ~~his~~^{her} social origin was. (6)

The social origins of women students are however significant in identifying the motivations of women who sought a higher education and they are also an important indicator of the broader aspects of social background seen in lifestyles and experiences. There are certainly many ways one could interpret the concepts of social origins but in the case of this group of women, namely university women, the criteria under consideration are broadly that of economic status, social ranking and prestige which together can be considered under the general heading of 'social background'. (7)

'Social background' is therefore a very general term which reflects the nature of a person's upbringing through a variety of factors like family background, father's occupation, income levels, education, religion and birthplace. The main criteria used by social historians is 'occupation', often linked to levels of income.

6. Davie, George, op.cit. and Anderson, Robert, op.cit.

7. Armstrong, W. A. 'The Use of Information about Occupation', Wrigley, E.A. (ed) Nineteenth Century Society. (1972)

There have been several studies carried out into various aspects of social background of the university student population and all the indicators point in the case of women to the fact that the majority of women came from the middle and upper ranges of society.(8) There was indeed considerable under-representation of women students from the semi-skilled and unskilled groups although there were entrants whose fathers were miners, gamekeepers, crofters and the like.

What is evident is the diversity of background within the broader groupings classified as middle-class. While the financial aid from the Carnegie Trust and the growth in the number of women entering the teaching profession served to widen these boundaries within the university population uniting these women into one group as 'university students' their social origins remained varied enough not to produce any homogenous entity known as the 'middle class'.

The oral evidence reveals that even in any random sample of women graduates their social background falls into the same broad grouping. One can perceive through their lifestyles, motivations and expectations, some common

8. In Appendix 4 some statistical data has been tabulated from a variety of these sources together with some preliminary work carried out at Glasgow University.

pattern of social background and by classifying 'women graduates' as one social grouping one can also see shared common characteristics. One can however also identify hidden diversities of experience.

Table 6.2. Father's Occupation

Doctor	2	Farmer	2
Minister	3		
Lawyer	3	Builder	2
Banker	1	Slater	1
Professor	1		
Secretary	1	Engineer	3
Teacher	1	Mine Manager	1
Stockbroker-	2	Works Manager	1
insurancebroker		Engineering Blacksmith	
Vet	1	(managerial)	1
		Industrial Chemist	1
		In business	2
Commercial			
traveller	1	Baker	1
Artist	1	Grocer	1
		Draper	3
		Signalman	1
		Railway clerk	1
		Timekeeper	1
Not Known	10		
Deceased	2		
Newspaper			
proprietor d'd	1		
Clerk d'd	1		
Businessman d'd	1		
Total	----- 32		----- 22
		Total	54

Although the sample is not a large one the evidence from the informants' social background reveals that there were very few representatives from the 'working class' groups although references were made in the oral material to women students who were known to come from these lower

groups. One graduate recalled a girl student at Edinburgh, the daughter of a gamekeeper who could not come to classes when her boots were being mended. One Glasgow graduate whose father was a timekeeper with an engineering firm, Glenfield and Kennedy in Kilmarnock saw herself quite clearly as working-class and indeed had friends whom she also classed in the same way:

'Another lived in a wee wee cottage, a wee but and ben and I remember seeing a bath in the middle of the living room floor and her father was a miner.' (9)

The daughter of a minister also recalled those who were not very wealthy:

'The people I knew were all hard-up. There was a gamekeeper's daughter and she was in digs and they were pretty poor digs. She took 'flu' and kept herself going on oranges.' (10)

These comments were echoed in other statements like, 'my father could not afford to let me stay on for honours' or 'we were all very poor and used to walk long distances to save tramfares' or 'we were all battling against money'. (11)

Table 6.2. shows that over half the women interviewed came from the professional or managerial classes. Excluding the 'unknown' category, fifteen women (34.1%) were the daughters of professional families, and nine were from the managerial group (20.3%). The two from farming backgrounds

-
9. Miss Bain tape number 24, 8/4/1980 MA GU c.1924
10. Mrs Macleod tape number 7, 23/7/1978 and 13/9/1980 MA GU 1924
11. Miss Margaret Rose, Correspondence, 1980 MA EU 1933
Miss E Stewart, interviewed 27/3/1980, BSc GU 1926

and the three women whose fathers were builders or slaters accounted for another 11.4 per cent of the total. Daughters of trades or lower middle-class and borderline working-class groups made up the remainder and accounted for 22.8 per cent of the total. The fathers of five women had died before they entered the university. Although it has not been recorded in table 6.2. some women also lost one or both of their parents during their university years.

The broader influences of social background arose from the general social origins and home life of the women students. One aspect of this was the motivations for going to university which varied across the informant group. For those whose family - father, mother, aunt, brothers or sisters - had gone to university then it was not unusual for them to follow in their footsteps. "It was taken for granted" was the most common statement across all the interviews. Sometimes, even if the family background excluded any university graduates it would at least contain members of the family who had experienced some form of higher education either at teacher training college or who were in other professional groups. Miss Margaret J P Laurence recalled that :

'My stereotype of University life was based on parental discussion and stories of an aunt's University days, and gave an impression of richness and fullness ' (12)

12. Laurence, Margaret J P, *Anecdoteage*, UEJ, 1977, xxviii, p 126.

Where this precedent was absent then the informants could be classed as true 'first generation' entrants. Their motivation often stemmed from their schooling. Keen teachers would encourage the parents of a bright pupil to apply to the university. A Glasgow graduate, Mrs Grant recalled how her father had to be persuaded to send her to the university. Although he was keen for all his family to be well-educated it had been expected that she would go to college to train to be a teacher:

'Anyway it came time for me to leave school and it was assumed that I was going on to college - that was assumed- and I had a friend who was in my class at school and had left in the 5th year when I had stayed on to a 6th year; she had gone to university and she was always coming into the house and saying to my father - whose word was law -that I should go to University, but my father never said yea or nae....(until) ..my father came home one day and he said " I was speaking to Mr Carmichael - he was our classics master - he says he thinks you should go to University. He says that your English teacher thinks too that you should go to University"..I am sure it was only because of that...(that).. I went to University.' (13)

Even in these cases where none of the family had attended university before the statement was repeated that 'it was taken for granted' that girls should go to the university. The fact that there was nothing unusual is a reflection of the general acceptance of the principle of university educated women.

There seems to have been no outright opposition from parents but this absence of opposition may be a reflection of their liberalism and enlightened views which

13. Mrs Grant, tape number 10, 21/2/1979 and 20/9/1979, MA GU 1926.

allowed their daughters to go to university in the first place and would indeed exclude all the women whose parents did not send their daughters to university because they saw their place as being in the home and also excluded households where going out to work was the norm. Lack of opposition was also due to other factors which may have included Scottish attitudes to education which by tradition was viewed as being more democratic. Some parents may even have viewed university education from a Victorian standpoint and used the university classes as a finishing school for their daughters.

Although there was no opposition the balance of support between parents varied. Some fathers were indifferent but others were keen on education and highly supportive. Very often the attitude of the mother was crucial :

'My mother was the person who was very keen that I should go to University. She had not been herself. She had been the eldest of three Victorian daughters and therefore she was the one who had to stay at home and look after her parents while the other two younger sisters were sent for teacher training and this is something my mother regretted all her life that she had as good a brain as the other two and would have enjoyed it, and therefore she saw me doing something which she herself had been unable to do.' (14)

Another graduate, Margaret Rose owed her university days to the determination of her father who had sisters all of whom were described as "powerful, dynamic women, independent of thought and action, articulate and highly

14. Miss Charlotte Reid, tape number 6B, 14/9/1979 MA EU

intelligent'. (15) One of these was Dr Joan K Rose who served in the Scottish Women's Hospitals in Serbia during the First World War. (16) 'It seemed only natural for me to carry on the tradition', recalled Margaret Rose. Her parents views were divided:

'My father took it for granted that girls had the same educational opportunities as boys. On the other hand, my mother did not want me to go to university, - she knew that men did not like clever women and she was sure I would never marry if I had a degree - she only wanted me to be a good wife and mother' (17)

Three of the graduates' mothers were teachers and another two had attended the early higher education classes in Edinburgh and Glasgow. (18) One informant's mother had attended St Andrews University but had married before completing her course. This informant did however also have the example of her aunt who had attended St Andrews and served on the SRC:

'You see I was surrounded by these aunts, they were always talking about it. the youngest Aunt was only 14 when I was born so I was..(always)..listening to her about her University time.' (19)

Significantly, only one informant's mother was a graduate. Why this should be so may be a chance result of the informant selection or indeed an indication that even from the 1920s the percolation of second generation women graduates was slow to take place. The mother was the well-

15. Miss Margaret Rose op.cit.

16. British Medical Journal, 5th July 1975, page 48

17. Rose, op. cit.

18. Mrs Bone, Miss Lochhead and Mrs Martin were the daughters of teachers and Mrs Milligan and Dr Anabella A Reid's mothers attended the classes.

19. Miss S Ogilvie, tape number 15 & 16 MA EU 1931.

known medical woman, Dr Margaret Brotherston (20). Another two women also had famous medical aunts. Dr Margaret Menzies Campbell was the niece of Dr Marion Gilchrist the first Scottish woman medical graduate and she was indeed the main influence in Mrs Campbell's life. (21) Dr Joan K Rose has already been mentioned as the aunt of another Edinburgh graduate. Another informant's aunt, Mary Cairns attended ELEA classes in the 1880s.

Therefore , although the strands of influence were varied it is certainly evident from the oral material that knowledge of university life and higher education were significant, firstly in informing women of the availability of higher education and secondly in establishing family precedents which reinforced and explained the 'taken for granted' response. The precedent factor was also significant in conditioning the attitudes and experiences of women students. Those who had family links, however tenuous, to the university were more assured and confident of their own university experiences as we shall see. This pattern of confidence was of course reinforced by schooling. Those who were 'first generation' women students in contrast spoke of a lack of confidence because their background did not have any of these precedents.

20. Dr Margaret Merry Smith or Brotherston graduated in medicine at Edinburgh University 1901.

21. For further information on Dr Gilchrist see Chapter Two. Mrs Margaret Menzies Campbell tape number 14 17/7/1979 and 12/9/1979, MBChB STAU 1916

Schooling too was another influential factor. Some attended private schools like St Leonard's in St Andrews, St Georges' in Edinburgh or Laurel Bank School or Park School in Glasgow. These schools in particular were all staffed by the new breed of university women, all pioneers of Girton or Oxford or early graduates from the Scottish Universities. They therefore were often influential in encouraging their pupils to go to the universities. At least two informants had governesses. Two attended the Edinburgh Ladies College or similar private institutions. One attended the Ministers' Daughters' College. The remainder attended the more typical secondary schools like Inverness Academy, Falkirk High, Kilmarnock Academy. In all a cross-section of types of schooling were represented in the selection of informants.

Another reflection of home influence was the type of household and this aspect was often recounted. Perhaps the example of two women graduates whose backgrounds were very different might highlight the diversity of background which any general 'middle-class' label might conceal. There were certain criteria of 'respectability' which indicated a certain lifestyle and social position which had evolved in the Victorian period. Leonore Davidoff in The Best Circles has shown the importance of the role of the social circle in high society, the rules of entry to

this privileged sector, the ways of social behaviour and the role of women in maintaining this structure. (22)

Mrs Masson Gulland's home background is one such example of living in the 'best circles' of society and highly illustrative of upper middle-class lifestyles. Her father, Sir James Alexander Russell was an Inspector of Public Health, one time Lord Provost of Edinburgh and a prominent public figure in the city of Edinburgh. (23) She recounted vivid descriptions of her childhood and homelife:

'I should emphasise that we were in no way a rich family and yet we seemed to have had an awful lot of servants by present day standards. We had a cook and a housemaid and a table maid and a woman who came in just to do odd cleaning, and there was a nanny as long as there was a small child and in the garden there was the gardener and his wife.' (24)

She viewed herself as the child of an average professional family. Many of the other informants also referred to their households and the employment of domestic servants.

'We were not a two maid household' was one comment and another said, 'We always had a maid'. (25)

22. Davidoff, Leonore, The Best Circles (London, 1973) One means to restrict entry to these social circles was for women to form local or personal networks. Paying calls on certain days of the month when the hostess was officially known to be 'at home' was central to the routine of social etiquette.

23. Sir James Alexander Russell, Knighted 1894, MA MB BSc Public Health, LL.D, JP, DL, FRSEd, FRCP Ed, Chairman Burgh Committee on Secondary Education 1893-1902, Member of George Heriot's Trust 1880-1903 and of Corporation of Edinburgh 1880-1900 b.6/4/1846 d. 22/1/1918 (Who Was Who 1916-1928).

24. Mrs Ruth Madeline Masson Gulland. tape number 19 LLB EU 1923. She married the grandson of Professor David Masson.

25. Miss Janet Brotherston interview September 1979 MA EU 1934 and Mrs Martin, interview 14/12/1978.

Mrs Masson Gulland's childhood was one of dancing classes, chaperonage and private schooling. She recalled glittering dinner parties at home. Her upbringing was geared very much to social etiquette:

Were there certain things you were trained to do by your mother, things like etiquette?

'Oh yes very, very much so. Now it is an interesting thing. I don't remember the word 'class' ever being used at all. On the other hand, if you did anything, if you were discourteous or if you pushed past somebody you were told firmly that no lady did that. But in a way it was more a matter of manners and being considerate... it wasn't a matter of class at all in behaviour...

What about At Homes?

'Oh yes, this was a common thing. Most of the Edinburgh hostesses, they had their home days and these were really rather terrible. The drawing room was very beautiful and all the silver was cleaned and certainly the teas were excellent, wonderful teas. Their friends would know that they were at home on, say the first Tuesday in every month or the third Thursday and so if you really wanted to see them, you paid your call that day. If you didn't you turned up on another day and just sent in cards and you took your chance.'

Were you taught how to leave cards?

'Oh yes. As an unmarried girl you did not leave your own card. Your name was written underneath your mother's, usually in pencil, you were very much somebody of a lower grade. There were great rules. A lady did not leave a card on a gentleman. It's alright to take the gentleman's card...' (26)

She attended dancing classes where they were taught how to do a court courtsey and indeed put her lessons into practice:

26. Mrs Masson Gulland, op. cit.

Did you ever have any occasion to use the Court courtsey?

'Oh yes. I have been several times to Holyrood. It was understood that when you grew up that was what happened to you. When you came out you were presented at Court...in those days you were properly presented and then you had a garden party as well.' (27)

She attended Miss Oliphant's kindergarten and then a private school run by the Misses Gossip in Edinburgh followed by St Leonards in St Andrews. It was intended that she go to Girton College after St Leonards and sat the entrance examination and received a place for the following year, 1918. Her father intended her to have a year off before going to Cambridge but he died and she recalled, 'there just wasn't enough money for me to go to Cambridge and for my sister to go to St Leonards so I thought I'd stay and go to Edinburgh' (28) She had no clear intention of what she wanted to study and entered the Arts faculty but changed to Law halfway through.

Despite her family's support of her going to university it was not without some conflict:

Was there any conflict between your home life and university life?

'I think I could say that. You see you were rather expected in those days still to be a bit the social daughter at home, and you were quite likely to be asked by your mother to come paying calls with her. Well, that frankly was an awful waste of time if you were doing exams and you had to put on your best clothes and toil out to pay calls on people, leave the proper number of cards and so on.' (29)

27. *ibid.*

28. *ibid.*

29. *ibid.*

In contrast, the example of Mrs Grant's background was quite different. She knew nothing of dancing classes or calling cards. She viewed her origins as working-class although her father held a managerial post :

'My father you see was a colliery manager, well before he was a colliery manager he was an under-manager and he was an oversman and so on, so we always lived in little mining villages.. When I was about 8 we came to Falkirk..We would have been a well off family if there hadn't been so many of us, but there were far too many. My youngest brother was born in 1916 , all the rest had been 2 years between and then my youngest brother was born - that made 7 of us. ' (30)

She too experienced some conflict between her home and university life. She had difficulties in finding quiet times to study (she shared a bedroom with her two sisters) and fit in her domestic duties between studies. She recalled speaking to an aunt about this:

'That was going home at weekends and getting all the ironing to do with four brothers and my father... I remember I was nearly crying to her one day. I'm needing to get my work done Auntie Maggie. I've got a degree examination and I've got all these shirts to iron.' (31)

These brief extracts give some idea of the type of diversities of background which conditioned the university experiences of these two women and as we shall see in the following two sections their university experiences also differed substantially. The only thing common to both was the conflict between home and university life. One was limited by social etiquette and the other by domestic responsibilities.

30. Mrs Grant op. cit.

31. *ibid.*

2. University experiences

The experiences of university were as diversified as the women themselves. The oral material offers a kaleidoscope of these recollections which give a flavour of the early impact of university on women students and indeed the effect of women within the university. Although the random nature of these recollections makes generalisations difficult, it is quite clear that in the reminiscence process it is this area which produced positive responses and expressions of satisfaction. However different their backgrounds might have been the women in the sample spoke of the academic side of university as being a privilege and a period of 'mental enrichment' and for some it was 'exhilarating'. The professorial group of the early twentieth century seemed to be sprinkled with persons of character and personality who were renowned and revered in university circles and who in their own way influenced and impressed the students under them. For example, at Edinburgh University the women mentioned Professor Sir Richard Lodge, Professor Grierson and Professor George Saintsbury. (32) At St Andrews James Colquhoun Irvine, later Principal of the university was fondly recalled.(33) At Glasgow University, the women of course divided their

32. Mrs Masson Gulland, op. cit., Laurence op. cit.,

33. Mrs Menzies Campbell and Bryson, op. cit.

time between Gilmorehill and Queen Margaret:

' When he (Macneile Dixon) lectured it was sheer, it was beautiful, his language in his lectures, he was sometimes thought very sober when he lectured but they were beautiful lectures....(There was a lecturer) Alexander (and) the Queen Margaret Class, the first year, went because of the lecturer's blue eyes. I don't think he was so very young, but he was good looking and the first year girls were all supposed to be in love with him.' (34)

For some it was the more practical aspects which they noticed. Both Mrs Grant and Mrs Masson Gulland remarked on the crowded classes in the immediate post war era with ex-servicemen coming back to complete their studies.

This was in contrast to the pre-1914 period when the universities were much smaller places. A graduate of Edinburgh in 1912 recalled the general impression she gained:

'...there was a sort of homely feeling about it. I mean you knew so many of the people because there weren't many..'

How did the men students treat the women in those days?

'Oh no sort of rivalry at all. No, no. I think they rather sort of vied on how many girl students they knew.' (35)

These fond memories were not however without their awareness of the newly gained position of women in the universities. It was frequent for some Professors to address their mixed classes as 'gentlemen'.(36)

34. Mrs Macleod op.cit.

35. Mrs Lawson tape number 18, 18/9/79, MA EU 1912

36. Mrs Moir, tape no 13 9/3/1979 MA GU 1924

Mrs Baxter interview, 27/3/1980 MA GU 1914

Isabel Hutton was a medical student in Edinburgh around 1905 and in her autobiography has retold in great detail her recollections of life at Edinburgh where she attended classes at the Extra Mural schools and also some at the University. The reaction of male students was again hostile, especially in the clinical surgery classes held in the Infirmary:

'We others seemed to be considered traditional enemies by the men and were the constant targets of their criticism and even hostility though this was veiled and did not take the anti-social form that it had done twenty years earlier.' (37)

She contrasted the attitude of the men to the Arts women. Talking about the organising of a three day bazaar for the Women's Union fund-raising effort under the initiative of the Arts women, Dr Hutton noted 'that there was not a whit of prejudice against them, and they were cherished and admired and wielded real power in the university, not being 'sain hadden doon' like the despised 'lady meds'. (38)

One student at Edinburgh during the First World War recalled a friend's experience in medicine, this would be at the time when the women medicals were fully admitted into equal teaching with the men:

'By 1914, women students were completely accepted in the Faculties of Arts and Science, but the few who did medicine were resented by the men, especially those who returned disabled from active service, or were de-mobbed to complete their studies. The men would walk out in a body from a lecture on Midwifery and the lecturer would follow. The girls had great difficulty in finding tutors for some subjects.' (39)

37. Hutton, Isabel Memories of a Doctor in War and Peace (1960), p.39

38. *ibid* p 72

39. Mrs Corner Correspondence 1978-79

She suggested the reason for the walk-out was embarrassment at sharing the class with women and her friend was more amused than annoyed by the incident. (40)

Even after 1918 there were still some areas of prejudice. Mrs Masson Gulland recounts an amusing tale which to her indicated remnants of prejudice against the women, however jokingly done :

'Well as I say there was one class which I felt the professor was trying to deter the women and that was Professor Littlejohn in ... Medical Jurisprudence and that was really rather marked, of course he had to accept the medicals, it was part of their course, but he wasn't reckoning on law women as well; as he had nine sisters perhaps he'd rather too much in the way of women in his home. But when we came up to do his class, the law people, ..there were.. four women, they didn't seem very pleased to see us and he gave us very nice gentle lectures for a week all about anatomy and so on and then at the end of the week he counted us all and he said, splendid, today we have a full attendance, we shall go to the City Mortuary...in due course the poor corpse was wheeled in but there was nothing distressing at all, the Professor explained that he was going to do a post mortem, this was actually a poor gentleman who had fallen down running to catch a bus..So we all stood round the wall waiting for this to begin and then he looked up and said I do not think the ladies can see very well, they had better come a little nearer, so we all took a step or two forward. A minute or two later he said I still think the ladies cannot see very well, they had better come a little nearer...he finished up having all four of us hanging over the corpse which I remember very well. I wasn't the least distressed by this because I had lived in a medical family, I really was very interested, there was nothing to worry about, the poor old gentleman had died and we were finding out why. So he kept us there for two and a half hours and I had a wicked feeling that perhaps he was wanting to get rid of us. However we were still standing there at the end of two and a half hours and five of the men had had to go out and two had fallen flat on the floor fainting. So we felt rather pleased but I think that was the only time I was conscious of any active feeling against women. I think after that he gave up.' (41)

40. *ibid.*

41. Mrs Masson Gulland *op.cit.*

This amusing anecdote is one excerpt where the language style and voice level is lost in the written form but it does reveal quite clearly the prejudice against women students which remained amongst the older generation of professors for whom the arrival of women was a dramatic departure. It has to be said however that by the 1920s and 1930s these were isolated incidents and the oral material is not dominated by discussions of discrimination against women students.

Outside forces did impinge on university life. The most dramatic of these was the First World War. We have already seen that the statistical picture of university life altered dramatically during the war and many of the classes were kept going by the presence of the women. For many women it was also a time of tragedy with the loss of family and friends. One student described herself as the 'lost generation' because many did not marry having lost a boyfriend or fiance.(42) One graduate was only married for two years before she was widowed.(43)

The war also meant limited social activities and there was a general feeling that the women, especially in medicine were keeping the classes going until the men returned. Some women did some war relief work and helped to raise funds for refugees. Helen I Wilkie MA PhD became Senior President of the SRC during the war years and she noted

42. Miss M E Osman, tape number 20, 7/2/1980 MA STAU 1916

43. Mrs Lawson, op.cit.

increased discontent at this time amongst women students over lack of facilities and rooms since few were joining the Women's Union at this time and there was bad feeling about advice regarding courses from official advisers. One result of this was the appointment of a woman adviser of Studies, Mrs Garden Blaikie MBChB in 1918. (44)

Some women were not impressed with their university experiences in a more general way. Jenny Lee, socialist politician, in her autobiography was more cynical. The lectures were 'dreary and circumspect' and 'the strictly utilitarian part of university life consisted of going in droves to one class after another taking down copious notes of lectures, memorizing these and reading the prescribed books'. (45) She contrasted this with the attitude of the members of the socialist movement:

'Theirs was an eager, questioning purposeful kind of knowledge; in exhilarating contrast to the dead, disconnected parroting that earned us our university degrees.' (46)

Dr Hutton, although not attending all classes at the university also expressed cynicism over the general university experience:

'There was neither that richness of tradition nor the atmosphere of a university community. Students were left to sink or swim and, though this course was well suited to the independent and the diligent, the sluggard and the weakling were liable to fall by the wayside.' (47)

44. Wilkie, Helen I, 'Steps which led to the appointment of a woman supervisor of studies.', UeJ, 1971-2, page 136-8 and interview with her 16/8/1979; and Mrs Russell interview, 16/11/1979 MA EU 1918

45. Jennie Lee, This Great Journey. A volume of autobiography 1904-45, (London, 1963), page 67

46. *ibid*

47. Hutton, Isabel, *op.cit.*, page 67

Disillusionment also came when impressions of certain women research students did not live up to expectations:

'One of the most disillusioning moments I had in my University life was one night I was sitting in the Union.. and two women came in who were, they were both first class Honours in my own subject and they were looked up to in the University and they were very able women and they sat and discussed stockings the whole evening and how you could get silk stockings easily and that was all they talked about and as I had never listened to their conversations before I was very much put out. (48)

Some on reflection viewed their university days with a certain amount of realism:

'We seldom talked of politics. In fact we were guileless, silly and smug. And some of us, I realise now, must have been intolerably lonely, living in solitary digs, working like beavers and popping up now and then for a round of golf. To walk home to Wick as one man did in my year in order to save money was simply a thing to be done - not remarked on.' (49)

Politics, however, did enter their lives. The impact of the General Strike was an event which created political tensions within the universities (50). It was also one which revealed latent prejudice which the following extract reveals:

48. Mrs Bigwood, tape number 21, 7/11/1979, MA STAU 1926

49. Maida Burnett Stanier, 'The Old Order; an undergraduate in the Twenties' UEJ, vol 23, 1967-8, p. 158

50. The involvement of students was viewed as a contribution to a national emergency yet the Professor of Classics at St Andrews said that no student blackleggers would get first class honours. Most of the St Andrews students were involved as volunteers but at Aberdeen and Glasgow the numbers were fewer. About two thirds of the Edinburgh students volunteered although not all of them worked during the strike. The Glasgow University authorities seems to be unwilling to make special arrangements for students to sit examinations. Mrs Bigwood, op.cit. ; See also Jenny Lee, op.cit., page 70. and MacDougall, Ian, 'Some Aspects of the General Strike', in Ian MacDougall (ed), Essays in Scottish Labour History. (1979)

'During the General Strike there were practically no men in the Special English class, that was my special year. At that time our Professor Blyth-Webster was in America and a Professor Moore Smith from Leeds I think.... came in his place, an old man he looked as a though he never washed, and when he discovered one morning that all the men were away moving cement or unloading cement or sugar at the Docks and there were only to be women in his class, he walked out. He wouldn't lecture to women... He may have been against the General Strike for all I knew but it was women he couldn't stand. He wasn't married... That really made feminists of us. It really did something to us.' (51)

Although few of the women informants recalled being greatly influenced by the pioneers, they were aware of their existence although Elizabeth Bryson for example only appreciated in retrospect how great their contribution had been. This was another area where the "took it for granted" phrase recurred. There was an expressed lack of awareness of the debt owed to the pioneers of the pre 1892 who had worked so hard to achieve university admission for women:

'This was the inheritance that my generation of women freely entered into, and when I went off gaily to the University at my door, although I was glad, I was quite unaware of the greatness of the debt I owed to the fighting pioneers.' (52)

For other women the university was a reminder of the pioneer traditions closer to their own home:

51. Mrs Bigwood, op.cit.

52. Bryson, E ,op.cit., p 104

'Well I did work hard but a lot of what I was doing, I had done already and therefore I could enjoy myself rather a lot in my first year but I was very keen on doing well at University, I really cared. The thing that absorbed me most of all was that my mother and one of my aunts had been on the SRC. I must get on to the SRC and I had never in my life tried to advertise myself before or since....But I felt I must do it, if mother did it and my aunt did it, I must follow in their steps... I did it and I got on...(53)

Thoughts on careers were for some not paramount:

Although Geology was a science subject, it was a laugh. it was known as the 'marriage market' in those days because there were very few girls took it, but a lot of men, amongst the most attractive of men took the Geology class and one went to Geology with one's little hammer, but it was mainly just to see who was who and what was what and we even had geology weekends.' (54)

University experiences were therefore varied and divided. They were conditioned by the time which a particular graduate was at the university. The pre-1914 period was more limited than the 20s and 30s and the First World War made a deep impression. The general experience was also conditioned by the attitude of the university to women but the most noticeable impression left by the oral material was the lack of awareness of the pioneering campaign of previous generations apart one might note from the frequent recalling of the name Sophia Jex-Blake who above all others was most renowned. Some informants however admitted they had only read about her after they had been to university.

53. Miss Ogilvie, op.cit.

54. Mrs Moir, op.cit.

The oral evidence reveals therefore that university experiences were influenced by the academic atmosphere which pervaded the Scottish Universities. Eagerness to work and an enrichment of their outlook and education were the main general effects of entering the academic enclaves and in a sense unified women's university experiences. It was the interaction of 'class' and social integration which emerged as the divisive elements.

3. Lifestyles

The most outstanding evidence from the oral material of the diversity of university experiences is the example of lifestyles and social relationships. The range of recollections seem to fall into two distinct groups which are directly related to the social origins of the women graduates. Those who were confident embraced the academic and social life of university to the full. Those who lacked the social confidence and assurance, very often those who were first generation students and those who travelled from home to save money, did not join the women's unions or societies and rarely attended dances. Their years at university were limited by their situation and were divided into the social network of their homelife and the dutiful attendance at university classes.

Miss Charlotte Reid a graduate of Edinburgh recalled her own feelings of inadequacy when she first went up :

'all my classes happened to be in the morning and by lunchtime I would be home so.. it was a great effort to do anything to go back again or stay later or join societies, also I was like most Scottish students extremely shy and inarticulate, I couldn't speak to people without blushing but I tried to make the effort to do something that I had never done before and that was to take up a sport. I chose rowing and I didn't realise where the rowing club was or that I could ask somebody who would take me there and I spent a very harrowing Saturday going along the canal bank trying to find this rowing club and ended up in the men's rowing club..but at least I realised that I ought to be doing more things at University than just take classes.' (55)

For most women work was the most important aspect of university life and it came first before all else. Many spoke of the need to justify their parents' support both financially and otherwise in sending them to the university. Yet as Miss Reid recalls this attitude of 'work only' did have its drawbacks:

'what we needed most was education on a social side and we didn't get this, mostly because we didn't know we needed it and I had to wait until afterwards to get a lot of confidence...(were there many students who had more confidence?) yes and one or two... it was quite definitely a racial thing with one or two English students definitely had more self confidence, women as well, and also those whose.. fathers and mothers had been at University, a more professional background; people like me who were first time I think had less.' (56)

Indeed the most revealing part of this excerpt is the feeling of inferiority or lack of confidence which haunted those women students for whom university was a new experience. This was in the third phase of the history of university women occurring after the early integration of the pre 1914 era and after the 1914-18 war, when the

55. Charlotte Reid, op.cit.

56. ibid.

universities underwent great expansion of numbers. Even when the university experience might have been thought to be more open and democratic and when one would have found more students from the lower social groups to have some common identity with, this feeling of insecurity persisted. This insecurity was directly related to their social background and social perceptions and in their recollections these women graduates who felt inferior in some way saw themselves in a separate group. In addition it was not a view restricted to one particular university but it was common, by evidence of the oral material, at Glasgow and Edinburgh. The thoughts of one or two of the women are highly illustrative of this point:

'I made my own clothes and I must have been a sight when I look back on it now. But there were so many that were hard-up that it was more the usual and the people who write about their days at University and they did this and that... well no wonder they enjoyed it, but for me it was a slog. It was a thing to get the Degree and get it finished in the minimum of time.' (57)

When asked if she was aware of people who did socialise a lot Mrs Macleod said:

'I didn't know them but I envied them, their clothes, I used to sit at lectures and think I wish I could get the clothes they had...They didn't do as well as us. they hadn't the same drive.' (58)

Miss Margaret Rose was also aware of social differences:

'I find it difficult to classify myself, but would suggest that I always thought I was (lower) middle class. Yes there were some girls of a higher social class,- especially such as had gone to public schools such as St Leonard's...we were all fairly gregarious and mixed easily, but on looking back I think that perhaps these girls did form a certain clique, - I certainly did not feel at ease with them.' (59)

57. Mrs Macleod op.cit.

58. *ibid.*

59. Rose op.cit.

Mrs Grant whose social background was previously highlighted had this to say about her fellow women students at Glasgow:

'A great deal of the superiority that they seemed to us to have was due to their poise and sophistication and speech.. Our speech would be pretty common. It would be better than the boys because the girls usually spoke better than the boys but we would still have a long way to go before we had the kind of speech we had to attain to before we could teach. Many of these women were at ..(private) .. schools they came you see with all the confidence and if you went to meetings they would stand up and speak. Well, I was able to do that about three years or four years after that, but not at that time. I would have been terrified to do it at university because the first thing I felt when I went up to university was how utterly inadequate I was in every way. You went up amongst all these learned professors and lecturers...and you met people like these students I am talking about who made you feel as if you were a complete ignoramus. I don't mean that they meant you to think that, but that's how within yourself you felt.' (60)

This attitude did not encourage mixing either with other women or men. Mrs Macleod recalled that she 'never knew a man student to speak to... we sat in separate sections of the class, didn't mix at all, that wouldn't have been proper'. (61) Mrs Grant also remained within her own social network most of the time:

'I think maybe we kept, we were probably rather foolish in that way, kept in a little sort of clique of our own, those of us who came from the one area. Most of us had one friend outside. I had a friend who came from Kilsyth and she was better off. We were great friends... I think her people were publicans or something like that. She used to come to our house and at first I was a bit apprehensive about her coming. Oh goodness I don't know what she'll think of our place.' (62)

60. Mrs Macleod, op.cit.

61. Mrs Grant op.cit.,

62. *ibid.*

There were several factors which determined the extent to which women would mix socially within the university. Their financial circumstances - and by implication their social origins - played a major part. Even Mrs Masson Gulland who had an upper class background felt money was short when her father died:

'From the time of my father's death we were very hard up for a time, not that we'd ever been given much pocket money. My usual ration was ten shillings a week. it wasn't very much if you think of it now.. you paid for your lunches, and certainly by Friday it used to be very often a case of was it coffee or a meat pie... You paid for your gloves. your evening frocks and things mother used to buy. Even then I remember thinking that six guineas was a terrible lot for an evening dress... that was when I went to a really grand dance..She used to pay for the cabs I had if I went out to a dance..Books the family would always pay for. Those were never grudged.' (63)

Yet this was four times the amount of pocket money which Mrs Grant and others received at the same time period from 1919 to 1926:

'Well there was never much money in the house because of there being so many of us but my eldest brother who was working was very kind and he gave me regular pocket money and it was half a crown a week. It was marvellous what I did with that money. I paid my tram fare up to university when I didn't walk and I had money to buy cups of tea.. and I was also able to save money and I used to buy presents for people, and took my wee brother to the theatre and got him things for Hallowe'en... We all had the nine pounds from Carnegie.. We were usually most of us hard up, the crowd I went with I am talking about. But, we knew perfectly well there were girls who were well off, never had a care in the world as far as money was concerned and were able to join all the different organisations and take part in the social life of the university which we never really did.' (642)

63. Mrs Masson Gulland op.cit.

64. Mrs Grant, op.cit.

Another Edinburgh graduate recalled the same impression:

'There were sophisticates amongst us and those who seemed to have money at their command, but most of us had to learn how to make the most of small family allowances.' (65)

Wealth in the way of personal allowances and the location of their homes from the universities were only two factors which dictated the readiness of the women themselves to integrate into the university community. (66) The extent of integration of course depended on motivation and confidence to do so.

Mrs Macleod certainly found limitations in staying at home and had no social life:

'I wasn't a member of the Union. My family paid all my fees, there was no grant, my father wouldn't take Carnegie. I sat the Bursary exam but didn't get any bursaries. I think it was a guinea to join the union, and as I didn't need to go into the union for my dinner, I wasn't to join it. I just didn't have any social life. I did the classes and came home when they were finished. I had my dinner and I went back to the Mitchell and did my reading....Craig's tearoom I used to go in there for a coffee or a cup of tea if I was going to be long or didn't go home... but as for social life at University, No. I wasn't in the political life....I would have very much liked to join the union but at that stage what my father said was law and I was quite willing to accept it.' (67)

Social life was the key factor to university integration. The social activities at the universities encompassed several areas including clubs and societies - political, debating, church, social and athletic - and there were the men's and women's unions.

65. Jean W Moffat, 'Random recollections of a Fresher in 1911', UEJ, 25, 1971-2, p 323

66. Jamieson, L. 'Growing up in Scotland in the 1900s', Uncharted Lives, page 30. Personal allowances were very much part of a middle-class lifestyle.

67. Mrs Macleod, op.cit.

The evidence from the oral material reveals that many women could not recall joining the women's union.(68) For some in halls of residence there was no need and for others who were in lodgings or travelling it was often the case that they had not time or money to join. One travelling student recalled ' I couldn't afford it, I couldn't wait up'.(69) In those days it was an extra expense to join the union unlike today's almost automatic membership system. Mrs Grant also didn't join the Union because she couldn't afford the fee. She waited between classes in a women's cloakroom, 'You ate your sandwiches there, that was your university social life' .(70) One of the Glasgow informants suggested that the Union was run by a group of elite well educated women who voted each other into office. This may be hearsay although it was what she believed and perhaps that is the more significant aspect of the recollections.(71) Mrs Corner, a student of Edinburgh during the First World War couldn't afford to join the union there and used a women's common room next to the university library. (72)

There are many such examples of lack of involvement in university social life. Mrs Grant only joined the University Liberal Association, lured by a free cup of tea

68. Charlotte Reid, op.cit.

69. Miss Bain op.cit.

70. Mrs Grant op.cit.

71. Miss E Stewart, op.cit.

72. Mrs Corner, op.cit.

at the meetings and the low subscription of 6d. She did not however go to university dances. In contrast Mrs Masson Gulland did not participate in too many societies initially because her mother had been recently widowed. This resulted in conflict between her university life and her home duties which has already been mentioned. Dances, however seemed to be the main feature of her social calendar:

'I counted up one winter's session, I had been to 63 dances and then there were afternoon ones as well as evening ones and you could dance as much or as little as you wanted to.' (73)

Within her own social circle, the overlap of her university life soon made itself felt:

'One Edinburgh hostess who decided she would give a Coming-Out Ball for her daughter.. she thought she would make quite sure about the girls who had gone to the University. She knew the sons of her own friends would be all right but the girls, she thought that some of these girls going to this big rough university, she didn't quite know what they would be like so even though they were the daughters of her own friends, she had a series of tea parties and had us in pairs to see what we were like before we got our invitations.' (74)

It is an important question to examine the impact of university women on existing social groupings. In Mrs Masson Gulland's case we see her social network being protected from any outside doubtful forces which might change the existing order. Mrs Grant recalled that in later years she was viewed by some members of her family as an intellectual snob although she was never aware of

73. Mrs Masson Gulland op.cit.

74. *ibid.*

changing her personality, it was more that they felt threatened by her status as a graduate. These two examples of people with different social background thus viewed university education in a radically different light.

The new lifestyle of the early 1920s was quite clearly impinging on the old customs of social etiquette. In a wider way beyond the individual experiences this was caused to some extent by the dawning of the dance craze era after the end of the war in 1918.

For university women dances were the most popular social event and ranged from the formal university ones to the impromptu 'hops' arranged by clubs and societies. There were dances held occasionally in the halls of residences. At the university dances in the Men's Union at Edinburgh for example, admission was by invitation only and the affair was a formal one and fully chaperoned by the wives of some of the Professors who sat on a raised platform. Chaperonage did not always cause undue concern:

'We came unchaperoned except by the few married ladies who served for all of us. They were tolerant and did not frown upon those who danced more than once with the same partner for this was still considered indecorous' (75)

This was certainly the case up to the early 1920s as recalled by several of the Edinburgh women. Dances at St Andrews were also similarly chaperoned, at least the more formal SRC dances. (76) Mrs Menzies Campbell recalled that the SRC dance was too expensive at 5/- per ticket. (77)

75 Hutton, I op.cit. p.71

76. C E Mackie, 'Fifty years back" *Alumnus Chronicle*, vol 43, page 11

77. Mrs Menzies Campbell

The Law faculty dance at Edinburgh cost 10/- and this was considered by Mrs Masson Gulland to be rather costly. (78) At Glasgow dances were held in the early days in the drawing room of Queen Margaret College, under the close chaperonage of Miss Galloway. On one occasion a student, Leila McNeill was chastised for speaking to some men students. The fact that they were her three brothers did not count. (79)

Dancing, however, was not confined to university life. It is important to note that the social life of university women extended beyond the universities and to note how changes in the pattern of leisure activities affected the middle classes. In particular, the oral evidence gives a fascinating insight into the transformation of lifestyles which the arrival of the Palais de dance inflicted on the upper middle-classes. It is worthwhile quoting Mrs Masson Gulland in full because her account of how the middle class dealt with this innovation is most relevant to any discussion on lifestyles and social interaction. The Palais had to be sampled but first permission had to be given to attend and it had to be organised in an acceptable way to the social etiquette of the time :

78. Mrs Masson Gulland, op.cit.

79. A C C Crichton, op.cit.

'So in the middle of this rather tight society suddenly the Palais appeared. That really rocked the place to its foundations...I certainly didn't get allowed to go for a whole year at least....and then there was this awful idea you see that you could buy a ticket and go to a dance, this really did shatter everybody. But it wasn't quite like that for the children that I knew because what happened was that somebody, a friend of your parents, probably telephoned and said I'm taking a party to the Palais, would you come and you will either bring a partner or I've got a partner for you.... we didn't like this idea at all that all our friends were having this fun and we weren't. So at last we cajoled our respective mothers to come and see for themselves... we took them up to the gallery and let them look down and after a little while we were having tea at a nice little table and suddenly to my great joy I saw my Law Professor, Sir Ludovic Grant, so after that they couldn't say anything, I mean if your Professor went surely that was quite respectable. It really was a very innocent place because looking back on it there were little sort of alcoves with a sofa and two benches and after you had had your dance you came back to this little alcove where your hostess sat and you had your lemonade...Sitting there you never sort of sat anywhere else, it just wouldn't be tolerated.' (80)

It was not done to dance out of your party. The unwritten rules were that if you went with a hostess or chaperone you stayed in that group. If you did dance with someone outside the group apologies to your hostess were expected.

As the dancing era developed the rigid rules of etiquette were relaxed. It was also the case that they would only attend the Palais on certain nights. More open nights were not attended. Although that was the situation in Edinburgh, in Glasgow the emphasis was different. It was

80. Mrs Masson Gulland op.cit. Sir Ludovic James Grant(1862-1936) was son of Sir Alexander Grant of Edinburgh University and Regius Professor of Public Law and Secretary of Senatus and the University and Dean of the Law Faculty. UEJ 1936-7 vol 8 page 41

less hidebound by rigid social conventions. Some of the University dances were also called Palais as the phrase became used as a general description of dancing rather than of one particular dance-hall:

'there were Palais' all over the place in the City. The Plaza was the great place.. So the University Athletic Club ran a Palais on Saturday night. The idea was that you didn't go with a partner, this was the idea of it, that you went, if you had been watching rugby or playing tennis or whatever, you just gravitated towards the Mens Union at night, it was always a little anxious waiting at the beginning until you saw who was there, who you were going to avoid and who you were going to get in the way of.. ' (81)

The cost of the tickets did cause some problems:

'For instance to get to the Palais on Saturday night I had to save up, it cost you half a crown to get into the Union to dance, there was a marvellous band, Teddy McCormick...my father used to meet me, that was an interesting thing. A white tram went from the University terminus out to Maryhill terminus and I had to fly like Cinderella down University Avenue... and my father would meet me there.. One night I didn't go and eventually he had to winkle me out of one of the hot-spots. I'm afraid our careers were not altogether academic...there were these wooden spaces that were called hotspots(like a booth), there were two benches with a little table where you could put your drinks. There was no drinking. You could get positively hilarious on a cup of coffee.' (82)

For this woman the lure of dancing detracted from her studies:

'now Jimmy Laird who was a great ladies man, he became a doctor and he and I sometimes plumped classes and went to the Plaza in the afternoon to dance, but I remember sitting in one of the hotspots..well Jimmy asked my permission to call me by my first name.' (83)

81. Mrs Grieve, tape no. 13, 9/3/1979 MA GU 1924

82. *ibid.*

83. *ibid.*

This reference to addressing by the first name was typical of the way in which men and women of the time were more formal with each other and always addressed each other as Miss or Mr unless they were close friends.

These excerpts give a great flavour of the jollity and light-hearted atmosphere which pervaded the early 1920s. It has however to be noted again that many of the informants did not experience this side of university social life. They did not all attend dances, some couldn't dance and some lived too far away from the social centre.

So far we have looked at the extent to which social background played a large part in conditioning the outlook and expectations of women students and we have seen that there were quite clear diversities of experience. These experiences extended beyond the university and reveal that the lifestyles of university women were affected by much more than the internal forces of university life and that external forces of change did also permeate their lives. It is also true that 'class' did play a significant part in the way the lives of these women were shaped.

It is also true that certain institutions within the university also shaped their outlook. One example was halls of residence for women students. These imposed the expected levels of respectability on its students through various structures. The Scottish Halls of residence had always aspired to some Oxbridge level of collegiate system

and corporate lifestyle. What they achieved however was a separate enclave of women students and a perpetuation of middle class values.

Although the three halls of Residence for women students at Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews were small scale in terms of the number of students who resided in them, their influence was more far-reaching. At St Andrews we have already learned of the tensions and friction between the hall and the town girls. Perhaps however more significant for the present discussion on lifestyles was the type of residence they were. The Halls in their organisation and image were all representative of middle class lifestyles in the holding of 'At Homes', the employment of maids and the warden was a figure who largely shaped the outlook and attitudes of the girl students under her care and who acted as chaperone in any other guise. Hall life had its limitations:

'If you went to tea in the then wonderfully Victoria Cafe, with a man, that was frowned on. You weren't allowed to have men in the Hall. We always had a dance every year and it was considered THE dance by the men for instance. When we went to dances we were taken down in the Station bus with the Warden, we weren't allowed to go down on our own by ourselves.' (84)

This graduate recalled the lifestyle within the Hall:

'Oh very, very civilised, very nice and I always think it was so cheap really. We had very nice buildings, we each had our own bed-sitting room in great comfort and a coal fire and hot water brought twice a day before dinner and first thing in the morning and four good meals a day, very good dinner in the evening, properly waited on and so on, a running lunch, a very good breakfast and a very nice tea. Of course we were restricted to a certain extent, we weren't supposed to go out in the evening without letting a Warden know' (85)

84. Miss Osman, op.cit. This was during the 1914-18 War.

85. ibid.

Dinners involved dressing up and in rota students would be chosen to 'dine high' sitting at the warden's table. This was sometimes known as 'buffering'.

The Warden from 1900-1909 was Miss Frances Melville and after her there followed a two year wardenship under Mrs Neaves and then Miss Mildred Dobson who was herself a St Andrews graduate, a former St Leonards pupil and daughter of the then Poet Laureate. She had herself had been a resident in the Hall in her student days under Miss Lumsden. She had graduated in 1900 and she went into teaching but later took a BSc in 1907. As warden she recognised that the outlook of young women during and after the war had changed and that the rules and regulations of the early days were no longer acceptable.(86) The image of the university hall was much softened but it was undeniably still restrictive in its freedom. Dr Steele, graduate of St Andrews (MA BSc PhD) and lecturer in chemistry recalled that hall life was strict. As well as the warden there was a nurse and a housekeeper to maintain the residential system. She often took over the role of chaperone to students.' 'The dob' would not go to dances' she recalled. (87)

86. Alumnus Chronicle vol 40 1953, page 29, obituary of Miss Mildred Dobson. Like Frances Melville before her she took a BD degree at St Mary's college, St Andrews while she was warden.

87. Dr Ettie Stewart Steele interviewed 7/20/80 MA STAU 1912, BSc PhD

At Masson Hall in Edinburgh the lifestyle was similar. The personality of the warden was crucial. In the immediate post-war years Masson had been gaining the reputation as a glorified boarding house for young women which had never been the intention of its founders. Miss Simson had been warden to 1916 after which a series of short term appointments ensued. In 1919 the University had taken over the companies which had been running Masson and Muir because of financial difficulties and from then Masson was run by the Warden and a House Committee under the auspices of the University Court. The Minutes of the House Committee reveal that there were problems in maintaining discipline and indeed Miss Ogilvie refers to this: 'I think', she said, 'there were some goings-on that had made people feel that there must be a better warden and a more firm sort of warden.' (88) What happened was that under the wardenship of Miss Bailey from 1921 to 1924 there had been problems with late-leavers and pass-keys whereby students could stay out late. There seemed to be some problem about knowing when students were returning if at all. At a meeting on 2nd June 1924 it was reported that a woman student had asked leave to visit a sick father in Forfar but had in fact spent a night in a St Andrews hotel! (89) The incumbent warden resigned shortly after this one assumes because of events and in September 1924

88. Ogilvie op.cit.

89. *ibid.* and Minutes of the University of Edinburgh Masson Hall Committee, Masson Hall Papers, EUL

Miss Marjorie Rackstraw was appointed.(90) She was in the words of one of her flock ' a real person with character, principles and ideals and also with completely liberal attitudes to things.'(91) Her era was known as the 'Golden era' by her students because it was 'golden' to the individuals, to Miss Rackstraw's administration and to the development of Masson Hall as a women's residence.(92) A Birmingham graduate, with a Quaker and socialist background, she brought to Masson a wider experience and interest and reintroduced a strong feeling of corporate identity which had been weakening over the previous years under Miss Bailey and others. So Miss Rackstraw's job was to restore some of the original ideals. She improved catering (brown bread and salad were unheard of at a Scottish table) and allowed the residents to talk at the table. She placed great emphasis on culture and would put up a new picture every three months. She had connections with the 1925 club which was a group of young artists including William McTaggart. There was some resentment against all this culture we are told. (93)

She had done relief work in Russia towards the end of the First World War and invited groups of students to her sitting room to read excerpts from her Russian journals.

90. I met Miss Rackstraw at her home in Hampstead, London on 9/4/1979. She was very elderly and infirm and the interview was not very satisfactory although a friend who lived with her did furnish me with a lot of background material, mostly about her life after she left Masson in 1937

91. Ogilvie, op.cit.

92. Misses Milroy and Stewart, op.cit.

93. ibid.

She even had two Russian ladies to stay at one time who asked the students if their fathers were capitalists. Other visitors to the Hall were some of the professors. Miss Milroy recalled asking her more 'intellectual' friends to the 'At Home' days which Miss Rackstraw held. (94)

The social life at Masson was therefore a full one and the oral evidence reveals that the Masson experience was a stimulating environment. One resident recalls that 'we had such a social life in Masson with those plays and parties and Hallowe'en parties...Then in our third and fourth years..we had our own private sitting room and library..' (95) It was full to the extent that it limited other forms of social life:

'Now I regret that perhaps because it must have been a very important aspect of life for many but Masson was in George Square and the Women's Union was in George Square so instead of having to go there for lunch we just came home to Masson, 'Home' was the word.. we didn't have the same incentive because Masson was always next to the Union. ' (96)

A Masson Association was formed in 1925 and this reinforced and strengthened the Masson connection in a long-term way. It was a way of maintaining contact with fellow residents and the almost exclusive membership of the Masson Hall. No more than 50 women were ever resident at Masson in the twenties and thirties. The Newsletter of the Masson Association is very revealing of this 'old girl' network. (97)

94. *ibid.*

95. Mrs Macnicol *op.cit.*

96. *ibid.*

97. Masson Hall papers EUL

There was also Muir Hall for the medical women students although not all women residents were medicals. One Arts graduate recalled that in her time in Muir Hall they did little for themselves. She also recalled the proximity to men's halls of residence:

'Next door to us there were three in a row just as you came out the Meadows, almost next door to each other, there was Muir, then the Agricultural College and the Divinity Students' residence and so we had great goings on with the students of the Divinity Residence of course but some wag called them the Muir, the Demure and the Manure.' (98)

Another tier of residential accommodation was opened to students in 1915 when the Edinburgh Association for the Provision of Hostels for Women students built three hostels in East Suffolk Road. These hostels were open to a wider range of women students in colleges and other educational institutions as well so there was greater mixing. (99) Miss Margaret Rose lived in the Buchanan hostel - 'life in the hostel was idyllic' - and her recollections tell of a similar lifestyle to Masson but it was bigger and the supervision may have been less. Contact with non university students widened her horizons and shaped her future career in social work. (100) It is important to note the existence of other choices of residential accommodation for women besides Masson Hall.

Although the halls of residence reflect only one aspect of university lifestyles they were of course crucial to the maintenance of a corporate lifestyle and as such they

98. Mrs Lawson, op.cit.

99. Miss Margaret Rose, op.cit.

100. ibid.

succeeded. In addition it has to be noted that although the structure of the Halls appeared to be perpetuating middle class values and conventions, they were not always interpreted as such by the residents who lived in them who took the lifestyle of university halls very much for granted. They were part of the university experience but they also reflected the social mores of the day and as such were not questioned or challenged to any great extent.

The oral evidence :recollections in retrospect

In the previous discussion the oral evidence has been presented in the form of commentary and excerpt to allow the recollections of university women to speak for themselves. The excerpts have obviously been selected to highlight the most interesting and intriguing aspects of these women's reminiscences but they were also selected as the most common themes running through the material and as such have highlighted the most important aspects of any discussion about the lifestyles of university women. It has also been reinforced from excerpts from other written biographical accounts. Not all the interviews produced the same quality of material and some failed to produce any great insight into university life. Therefore some material has not been included in the foregoing discussion which was irrelevant or rambling and this was to be expected from any selection of informants .

The oral evidence has revealed that the university was less than a full experience for many graduates and failed to live up to the ideals of the early pioneers. Corporate life on the Oxford-Cambridge lines was never fully achieved and what was attempted was limited to the 'hall girls'. Edinburgh and St Andrews were most successful in this although Glasgow had the separate Queen Margaret College and this did help to perpetuate a corporate lifestyle but it disintegrated as the classes expanded and the lure of integration grew more attractive.

The lifestyles of the middle-class were largely reinforced by the 'Halls' and by the organisation of some of the societies which held social gatherings and 'At Homes'. The 'At Home' event was a quite clear duplication of the type of social procedure outlined by Mrs Masson Gulland. It was also reinforced by the university as an institution with the chaperonage of formal dances and balls. (and even the type of dancing in the pre 1914 era was formal and structured.) There was some dilution of middle-class values in the 1920s and 1930s but this was a reflection of external forces of change. (101) It is indeed important not to look at university experiences in isolation. The interaction of external forces on the internal experience of university was crucial.

101. The concern about the plight of the middle class and the effect of external political change is amply illustrated by the formation of a Glasgow University Middle Class Society in 1919. (Interview with Dr. Anabella A Reid, MBChB GU 1921, tape no 4)

The key theme of this narrative has been the 'inferiority v superiority' issue. It has become quite clear in the presentation of the oral material that there was a certain duality of experience which related directly to social origins and this diversity while it may not have negated the argument for middle-class origins, has revealed that wide gaps existed within the middle-class group which were revealed through the social life of university women. It is also clear that the university women were affected by changes which affected the whole of the middle-class group in the post-1918 era. (102)

102. To preserve the anonymity of informants and to protect copyright on the oral history material located in this thesis, it would be appreciated if readers would **not** quote the names of informants in any way and certainly not reproduce any quotation without the express written permission of the author.

Chapter 5

Feminism in the Scottish Universities

So far we have looked at the historical movement for the higher and university education of women, its successes and failures, the statistics of that development and examined the social origins of those women who attended university. It was appropriate, too, to hear the voice of the women who experienced the fruits of these developments through the vehicle of oral history. The revelations of the perceptions and expectations of this group of women students and university women in general require further examination.

At the centre of any analysis of a social study of university women must be an assessment or account of the 'feminist' nature of that particular history. When a group of women have experienced a campaign to change opinion and to claim for themselves the rights of equality to university education then indeed, there is an almost automatic expectation that their story be written in the feminist idiom or from a feminist standpoint. Feminist historians by their own definition would look for discrimination against women students, signs of oppression or dominance by the male dominated institution and would also search for a period of struggle and whether it led to

the fulfilment of aims of the movement.(1) The feminist historian would also question what men thought of the women in this particular university group and ask whether women were allowed to develop their talents.

One has to judge however whether it is correct to impose a feminist perception and language on events which from oral evidence and other sources did not initially appear to those involved to be strongly feminist. Indeed the 'taken for granted' attitude witnessed in the oral evidence seemed to point to a passive acceptance by women students of their access to university and their experiences within it.

In addition opposition to the arrival of women students in the 1890s was not openly prevalent and did not provoke any outcry or backlash from women students. There was, as we have seen, an acceptance by the women students that some ribbing and joking about their arrival on the university scene was inevitable but it did not cause any resentment amongst women. There was however underlying discrimination against women as seen in the lack of full integration at the informal social level. (2)

1. Smith, Hilda 'Feminism and the Methodology of Women's History' in Carroll, B E , Liberating Women's History (1976)

2. See Chapter 2 for details of the progress of informal integration in the 1890s.

In assessing therefore the 'feminist' nature of the activities of university women the chronology is important. There is no doubt that the strongest movement towards feminist expression came in Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was, by the above definition of feminism, the time when the movement to win political, economic and social equality for women gathered momentum and when the battle to open the Scottish Universities to women began. Looking back to the narrative of Chapter One, therefore, the events of the Sophia Jex-Blake campaign and the efforts to provide women with some means of higher education were at the peak of the great nineteenth century women's movement. The comparison of the later suffragette and suffragist campaigns to those of the medical women and women in the educational associations was indeed an apt one because of the different tactics they employed. There is no doubt that the Edinburgh medical women were pioneer feminists in every way, as seen in their aggressive actions in public.

The national women's movement which began in the days of J S Mill's 'Subjection of Women' debate in the 1860s peaked during the Suffragette era from 1906 to 1914. Therefore one has to extend any 'feminist' interpretation of university events to the period beyond the pioneering days. The beginning of the twentieth century were the years when the growth in the number of women students gave them a significant presence in the Scottish Universities

and when the emerging Scottish women graduates were also beginning to make an impact outside the university as teachers and doctors. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the relative quantitative strength of women students would have made some impression on the qualitative aspects of their university life and on the representation and recognition that they had within the academic community. The representation of women students on student bodies and the recognition by the university institution of women students as a separate group was achieved largely through the endeavours of the women students themselves.

It is important therefore to assess how far the levels of integration and acceptance were a reflection of an increased awareness of women's position within a male dominated institution and how this was expressed. Three key areas can be indentified which revealed some of the feminist tendencies of women students. Although they are closely inter-related they can be identified as firstly the 'image' of women students, that is what others thought of them, secondly, 'identity' being the grouping together of women in associations which promoted a common sense of identity ; lastly, 'consciousness' which was a reflection of the raised awareness of women students about themselves and their position in the universities. These are the themes which best highlight the years of integration and acceptance prior to 1914. They also raise questions about how conscious women were about their separate female

identity within the university, how they perceived their role in challenging the existing male dominance and whether in this challenge they could assert their own position.

Image

Much has been written about the Victorian perceptions of women and the impact that higher education would have on their health and the possible damage to their marriage prospects. As Burstyn has noted, the higher education of women 'challenged the ideal of womanhood'.(3). Many believed that university and academic life in general would unsex them, turn them into stereotypes of the 'blue-stocking' image and would usurp the domestic role of wife and mother which the ideals of Victorian 'respectability' demanded. By the early 1900s women in the Scottish universities had begun to prove that university degrees did not damage their health, did not damage their marriage prospects and that academic curriculum to male standards was well within their grasp.(4)

3. Burstyn, J N . Victorian education and the ideal of womanhood (1980), page 45. See also TNAPSS passim. and Burstyn, J N , 'Education and sex: the medical case against higher education for women in England, 1870-1900' Proceedings American Philosophical Society April 1973 vol 117.

4. Some informants still attended a post graduate year at the School of Domestic Science in Edinburgh thus attempting to bridge the gap between the two opposing ideals. See Lumsden, Louisa, On the higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland, (1884) and Melville, Frances H, University Education for women in Scotland. Its effects on social and intellectual life (Paper read to National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain & Ireland, Edinburgh 1902)

Once women were admitted into university life 'image' therefore was important. Sarah Delamont has noted that lifestyles were important in the women's crusade.(5) University women had to maintain an image of femininity yet compete at male academic standards. We have already seen the complications for the ELEA of trying to follow correct procedures in an attempt to emulate the men but also trying to maintain images of respectability. (6) They were successful therefore in gaining university certificates and the like for their students and working steadily through the example of their own success to prove that women could compete equally with men. This was in contrast to the radical militant image of Sophia Jex-Blake which in many eyes contradicted the Victorian expectations of women's role in society. Many thought her aggressive approach delayed the eventual opening of the Scottish universities to women.

Therefore when women were admitted to the Scottish Universities their image was just as important. On the one hand there was the self-assessment of university women and how they believed they should portray themselves and on the other hand, the realities of the impression they made on others. In the early years of integration in the 1890s the reaction to women students from men students has already been shown to have been one of indifference and doubts about whether women students would in fact be up to

5. Delamont, S., op.cit. page 179

6. See Chapter One.

the rigours of university life. This amused toleration of women was seen in the student magazines of the period.(7) It was up to the women largely to disprove the image conjured up by the men and show that they were not mere debutantes but serious scholars.

The university institution too had to integrate women into their organisation and here the question of how to describe women students was important in establishing some kind of 'image'. They had to be given a label. Aberdeen for example, could not decide whether to call them 'women', 'lady' or 'female'. It is significant that all the societies and organisations set up within the social structure of the universities used 'women' as their main descriptive label. This was a compromise definition which neither hinted at genteel qualities of the upper class or lowered their position to that of general 'female'. At Owen's College, Manchester where women had been admitted in 1883, there were similar problems of how to describe them. 'Ladies' were not registered students being mere debutante visitors and only received cards to admit them to single courses such as English Literature and 'women' were registered students studying for full degree courses.(8) The differentiation was significant in defining the level below which it was not considered

7. See Chapter Two, page 164

8. Tylecote, Mabel, The Education of Women at Manchester University 1883-1933 (Manchester 1941)

ladylike. It has also been shown that simple descriptive labels of 'hall', 'town' and 'travelling' at St Andrews concealed many areas of hidden tension and division within the group of university women. Labels were therefore an important means of establishing 'image'.

In an effort to portray women students as demure, respectable individuals, ladylike qualities were still maintained and for example, the chaperonage of women students at university dances was a definite attempt to maintain an aura of femininity and respectability and to protect women against the hazards of social mixing resulting from the so called risks of higher education.(9) The societies' 'At Homes' were also a reflection of the genteel image. Some of the student functions got around this unwritten rule requiring chaperonage by organising informal, impromptu social gatherings. The Halls of Residence also projected their own image of women students as a protected group of ladies within the university and in this the role and personality of the Warden was crucial.(10)

Some of the problems of 'image' for women students can be illustrated. The medical women had the greatest problem

9. Burstyn, J N , Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood, op.cit., pages 145-152

10. Burstyn *ibid.*, has noted that the religious content of halls or residences like morning prayers was partly an attempt to prove to opponents that university education would not make 'infidels' of the women students. It was all part of the image women students had to portray to counter opposition claims about the dangers of higher education.

with their image. If they were too feminine they were not taken seriously enough and Isobel Hutton recalled that plain dowdy women were preferred:

'it was clear that mannish suits and hob-nailed boots were less frowned upon than lace on petticoat' (11)

The medical women were aware of this themselves. Elizabeth Bryson while attending classes at the Medical School in Dundee had occasion to speak, in her capacity as a senior student, to a new student who was 'offending our sense of propriety by wearing her towsey hair adorned with splashes of pink and lavender ribbon - more than the men could easily ignore'. (12) In another tale of hats at Queen Margaret College, on the occasion of a dance in the College drawing room one Irish medical student, tall and elegant, was told by Miss Galloway not to wear such becoming hats as they made the men look at her. (13)

'Image' was therefore a curious mixture of maintaining femininity and ladylike qualities but also playing down their own sexuality to discourage masculine approaches which might be a disadvantage to their general acceptance and progress within university circles. It had been feared that the presence of women would distract men from their studies. Women had to disprove this assumption by playing down their feminity and aiming at some ideal of the 'new woman' which would contain the ladylike qualities within a

11. Hutton, Isobel, op. cit., p. 40

12. Bryson, E., op. cit., p. 190

13. Crichton, A C 'Finishing School for Young Ladies', op.cit. p.19

more modern framework and compete intellectually on an equal basis. They were not denying their own gender all together merely demoting it to a lower level of importance. It was indeed a compromise to maintain the gains they had achieved. After the First World War these concerns with 'respectability', ladylike qualities and 'image' were much diluted. This was indeed a reflection of the general changes in society which had been heralded by the war and there was a freer attitude to men and women mixing together and indeed to fashion and to social activities. (14)

Identity

The second strand of this assessment of feminist awareness concerns the identity of women students within the universities. The new breed of university women formed a coherent group within the university which established a separate identity as women students and emphasised their gender. It was essential that this identity be fostered into some form of association. Queen Margaret College, Glasgow and the medical colleges for women in Edinburgh were the only recognised institutions which separated women in the formal sense and fostered a separate identity. Some viewed this as a negative aspect of women's higher education. Within the universities, the integration process at an informal level also fostered the identity of women students. Again this was very much a

14. See Chapter Four *passim*

separate identity in retaliation to their exclusion from many of the male organisations but it was also a reflection of the developing identity of women students. The Women's Unions were the prime examples of this as were the separate WRC or women's committees of the SRC. (15) The 1890s were a period when the women had a very strong sense of their position within the Scottish universities and this is reflected in the setting up of the various women's structures. This separate identity however was the choice of the women themselves. There is no evidence to suggest they made any attempt to apply for equal admission to the Mens' Unions or some of the male societies. Nor is there any evidence to show that exclusion from men's groups was imposed by university authorities. It was self-determined to some extent by the grassroots members of the male student body who did not always express a willingness to open their societies to women. The women students in turn recognised the limitations to their integration and did not wish to do anything to alter the achieved status quo. Women sometimes preferred to maintain a separate role within the male dominated universities. This was evident from the decision by the QMC students to keep a separate women's committee of the SRC even although it meant less recognition by Glasgow University. In addition although the women's unions gave the women separate identity it has been shown from the oral evidence that not all the women joined them either because they could not afford to or stayed too far away from the university. Beyond this one

15. See Chapter Two

Edinburgh graduate went as far as to say that she had refused to join a separate women's union because she felt a mixed university should have no separate unions but this was the only expression of this view from within the range of oral evidence. (16)

Thus women students had various organisations to foster a separate identity. They did not promote demands for greater equality and in a sense the entrenchment of the men's position quelled any thoughts of demands for further moves to greater mixing. It has to be said however that the social structures of male university life were not that long established. (17) It was probable that in the expanding social aspects of university life the men wished to hold on to some balance of power. From the women's point of view, they seemed to accept that the gains they had made at the level of formal integration were sufficient to be going on with. Indeed the aims of the higher education campaign had always been restricted to the aspects of formal integration and there was no concept or prediction of how the more informal levels of integration would be achieved.

16. Miss Ogilvie., op. cit.

17. The SRC's , Unions etc were formed in the late 1890s reflecting the growth of coporate life at this time.

A means of identity for women graduates was achieved in Scotland through the setting up of local Associations of University Women. In 1901 Queen Margaret College set up an Association of Women Graduates. As has been noted elsewhere this was based on the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae upon which Miss Galloway based the foundation of the Glasgow Association after returning from an American trip.(18) A Women Graduates Association was founded at St Andrews by Frances Melville in 1909. Edinburgh and Aberdeen were later.

They were at this point specific women graduate associations linked to the individual universities rather than general bodies linked to any national group. It is important to note the date of the Glasgow Association's foundation. It was one of the earliest if not the earliest Association of University women to be formed in Britain. In addition the women's association's were distinct from general registration on the General Council and distinct from the later Graduates' Associations. A Federation of University Women was informally founded at Manchester in 1907 when 17 women graduates held a meeting in the library of Manchester High School to form a group which aimed to 'afford a means of communication and united action in matters affecting the interests of women'. Those present

18. QMC Handbooks and Frankefort, B. Collegiate Women (1977)

included Ida Smedley and Mrs Henry Sidgwick (Principal of Newnham College). Dr Margaret Brotherton, a medical graduate of Edinburgh was also at the meeting.(19)

The Federation was formed to encourage the formation and unity of local branches or associations of university women. The Federation was different from other graduate bodies because it was for women only and it did not restrict graduates of a particular university to join their home university association. It was open to women graduates wherever they lived.

The Federation was, like the Glasgow group, based on the American system, encouraging women to develop their education. There was a strong motivation within the group to raise important topics regarding the disadvantages under which women had to operate, especially in the areas of the franchise, limited career opportunities and limited post-graduate research. Although it supported the 'votes for women' it did not work actively to promote it. There was a strong element of caution against involving itself in an area which was already fraught with tensions and militancy. Its basic aims were firstly to promote

19. Although the history of the BFUW indicates the presence of local Scottish groups before 1920 there is little information on their foundations. An article on the Edinburgh Association of University Women notes its establishment in 1924. (UEJ, 1974, xxvi p223-24)

women's work on public bodies, secondly to secure the removal of sex disabilities, thirdly to facilitate the inter-communication and cooperation of university women and lastly to afford opportunity for the expression of united opinion on interested topics.(20) It also supported independent research by women and promoted fellowships and scholarships. It was also to develop a strong international network. By 1949 38 local associations were affiliated and the total membership was 5113. It published a newsheet and the 'University Women's Review'.

The Scottish groups were slow to formally join and it was not until after the First World War that formal links were established with the national federation. From 1920 the Federation of University Women was known as the British Federation of University Women.

Thus the members of the local Scottish Associations of the BFUW shared a common identity, namely a university degree. While however its aims were clearly structured to promote the advance of university women's careers and research , it was not a militant group , it was positive but passive. It communicated the views of university women and sought

20. Melville, Frances, The British Federation of University Women (1949) page 6

to build on existing achievements but it did not attract all women graduates to its midst. Some women for instance chose to support their 'alma mater' and joined their own graduates' association. Others did not participate at all. The BFUW was a conservative, establishment-oriented organisation. University women therefore had their own identity within the universities through their own unions and societies and through a separate graduate body. In other words the association and organisation of women in separate bodies emphasised and reinforced their separate identity.

Consciousness

The search for evidence of women students' self-awareness and active assertion of feminist rights therefore hinges on the theme of raised consciousness. How far were university women feminist in thought and action? What contribution did women's university organisations make towards making women more aware of their status and role? How far did the women's societies and in particular the women's debating societies fulfil the role of raising the consciousness of university women? Did they articulate their views on the position of women in society and did external forces of change impinge on their actions and response? These are some of the questions raised about the role of the early twentieth century feminist movement in the universities.

To answer them two aspects will be examined. The first will be to look at the Women's Debating Societies of Glasgow and Edinburgh and compare their relative interests and discussions. Given the limited documentary evidence it is fortunate that the Minutes of both societies have survived to give some indication of their activities. (21) All four Scottish Universities had from the early days of admission of women seen the foundation of women's debating societies. (22) Their period of strength was the pre-1914 era. The second aspect will be to examine the effect of the suffragette campaign on university women.

The Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society

The Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society was the oldest women's university debating society being formed in the early days of the foundation of QMC in the 1880s and at the instigation of Miss Galloway. By the early 1900s its format was made up of an opening address at the beginning of the session followed by a series of formal debates, impromptu debates or hat nights and occasional 'At Homes' and socials over the session. As can be seen from the title of the QMCLDS, it embodied both the

21. QMCLDS, Minute Book 1899-1905, GUA 19987 ; Minutes of Women's Debating Society 1893-1914, EUL, Drummond Room, Gen160-163

22. See chapter 2, pages 148,156,166,185.

literary and the debating functions. Generally this was reflected in the debate topics having a wide range of topics but it very much depended on the interests and views of those on the organising committee.

The Minutes do not reveal the extent of its support although it was reported in the Glasgow University Magazine of 1898 that 28 women attended the society's debate on 'war'. (23) This was a joint debate with the Edinburgh University Women's Debating Society which had established an annual joint debate with the QMC women since 1897. (24)

There was no shortage of discussion on women's issues, sometimes specific to a particular event and sometimes more wide-ranging. Dr Smart opened the 1899-1900 session on 16th November with an address on 'The position of women in the Economic World'. The following session Professor Medley opened the session with a paper on 'Social ideals of University life'. In this he warned that women students were still pioneers and must bear themselves with the careful dignity such a position required. This was again a reminder about the image and conduct of women students. Two years later Professor Raleigh addressed the women on 'The Meaning of a University'. (25)

23. GUM 1898-9, vol xi, page 71

24. EUWDS Minutes 11/11/1897

25. QMCLDS Minutes passim.

While the women debated whether 'clever men preferred unintellectual women' and 'Women and the Factory Acts', they also considered whether 'cooking was the most important thing for a girl to learn'. Another popular debate topic which was repeated on more than one occasion was that it was 'undesirable for married women to engage in professions'. Perhaps tongue in cheek, one of the topics for 1902-1903 session wondered if 'university women as a class have an exaggerated sense of their own importance'. (26) By 1912 Miss Maude G May was speaking on 'Morals for Daughters' and in 1913 they debated whether 'women's proper sphere is not the home'. (27)

The years 1914 and 1915 brought reminders of the awareness of women students of their position and debated the topic 'that the College Girl is a type' and 'university life tends to the neglect of family obligations'. Up to 1914 there is little evidence of debates on the franchise question although other societies, especially the mixed ones like the Fabian Society, the Philosophical Society and the Men's Dialectic Society did include the franchise question in their syllabi. On 14th January 1915 the QMCLDS considered 'that the natural outcome of the higher education of women is their enfranchisement' which not only revealed the awareness of the links between education and the vote but also predicted the inevitability of giving women the vote in 1918. (28)

26. *ibid.*

27. *ibid.* Maude Gertrude May was a Glasgow graduate who was appointed as one of the QMC Tutors

28. *ibid.*

Thus the QMC Literary and Debating Society was continually conscious of the position of women within the university and society. It was also aware of the tensions between the ideal of the domestic role and that of being educated and finding a career. How far it influenced its members is difficult to say but the fact that women's topics were repeatedly central to the annual syllabi showed that at least some of the women students at Glasgow University did talk about the larger feminist issues of the time. Although its meetings were reported in the Glasgow University Magazine, the separation of QMC from the rest of the university made the society's rhetoric and articulation of these debates less effective.

The Edinburgh University Women's Debating Society

The tradition of a women's debating society had already been established in Edinburgh prior to the formation of the Edinburgh University Women's Debating Society in 1893. The small but significant Edinburgh Essay Society had already been formed for several years and although it did not have a large membership Sarah S Mair who was its creator and mentor was also closely involved in the EAUEW. (29) Therefore through the personal contacts within the pioneer women group in Edinburgh it is hardly any surprise to find that the first society to be formed by women

29. See Chapter One pages 24-25

students after the Ordinance of 1892 was the Women's Debating Society. There is no information on who promoted its formation but Miss Frances H Melville whose associations with women's university education have been recounted in earlier chapters was its first President. (She was also on the Women's Representative Committee)

Some of the early problems of recognition of the EUWDS have already been recounted. The one particular problem was the bid to secure Senatus recognition which would allow them the use of university premises. The Senatus would only recognise the society if it restricted its membership to matriculated students and music students. In other word it was denying membership to the medical women whose position after the 1892 Ordinances was not satisfactory. In the end the medical women set up their own debating society in the late 1890s and often held inter-debates with the EUWDS. (30) It was some years before this was resolved.

Another problem for the EUWDS was membership. The main theme running through the Minutes was the problem of maintaining membership and how to attract new support. In 1897-8 session only 23 members were listed out of a total of 170 matriculated students and of these 23 , 8 were graduates. The committee reflected on the apparent indifference of women students and the lack of 'esprit de corps'. (31) Table 7.1. shows the membership pattern over

30. See Chapter 2 page 168

31. EUWDS Minutes 18/3/1898

the years 1893-1914 and indeed the figures were not high. It cost 2/6d as an annual subscription plus 1/- entrance fee to join the EUWDS .

Table 7.1 Membership figures 1893-1914
Edinburgh University Women's Debating Society

Year	No of members	Average attendance
1893-94	31	15
1894-95	17	10
1895-96	23	15
1896-97	22	10
1897-98	23	13
1898-99	30	12.5
1899-1900	26	9.5
1900-01	27	16
1901-02	38	20
1902-03	32	16.5
1903-04	44	21
1904-05	24	-
1905-06	21	11
1906-07	48	26
1907-08	34	17
1908-09	25	18
1909-10	26	15
1910-11	38	23
1911-12	36	20
1912-13	31	-
1913-14	37	20

(Source: EUWDSS Minutes)

Although the women continually bemoaned the lowness of the membership figures, their experience was perhaps fairly typical of university societies but it does suggest some level of apathy amongst women students, especially when the overall number of women students was increasing rapidly in the same period. Competition from other societies was one factor which the EUWDS blamed for its low membership and in 1903 a Summer Debating Society which

was mixed was founded. The oral evidence again also has revealed that many women could not afford to join other societies or were restricted by home circumstances.

The other concern of the committee was procedures and discipline. The women took their activities very seriously and were diligent in issuing reprimands to its members. This took the form of fines for failing to go through the chair or address members by name. Votes of censure were passed from time to time on absentee office-bearers or unpunctuality. A bell was used to keep order.

Although the overall pattern of membership was low the format of the EUWDS did not restrict its meetings to members only. In particular the opening event of the new session was always an inaugural address and this usually attracted many more women students. 'At Homes' were also a feature and all women students were invited to attend.

The topics for debate varied from the flippant to the serious. In the first session one of the earliest debates asked the question, 'should women smoke?'. The next one in January 1894 concerned a debate on the reform of women's dress. They also discussed vivisection, the respectability of dancing and whether 'girls should have equal advantages with men in athletics and gymnastics'.(32) A debate to discuss the merits of flirting was abandoned because of lack of numbers and on

32. EUWDS Minutes passim.

18th January 1894 the women cancelled another meeting to join a meeting of women students to discuss the question of forming a Women's Council to manage 'feminine affairs'.(33) This was indeed the formation of the Women's Representative Committee.

The EUWDS was not insular and arranged joint debates with the Philomathic Society, the Dumfries and Galloway Society and the Free Church Society. The tradition of establishing inter-university debates we have already noted began in 1897 with a joint debate with the QMC Literary and Debating Society. Connection was made with the St Andrews University Women's Debating Society in 1901 and also with the Aberdeen University Women's Debating Society although it is apparent from the Minutes that these were not always well attended.

The real essence of the EUWDS was its concern and awareness of women's issues of the day, regardless of the low membership figures. On 22nd November 1895 the women raised the motion that 'women should have the franchise' and it was a topic which was repeated in later syllabi in 1900 and 1907 and indeed by other mixed university societies. It is important to point out that discussion of women's issues was not confined to the EUWDS but it focussed more closely on women's topics. 'Girls should be taught only by women' was the topic at a joint debate with the Medical women in 1897. That year also saw a

33. *ibid.*

motion 'that the higher education of women tends to unfit them for their domestic duties' and two weeks later on 19th November 1897 'that a woman's university with full powers of granting degrees to women only would be a distinctly retrograde step in women's higher education'. (34) The motion was successfully carried.

The Society reminded women students of the debt they owed to the early pioneers by inviting Miss Louisa Lumsden to speak in 1896 on 'the early days of the higher education movement'. Miss Lumsden in fact spoke at Glasgow and St Andrews as well.

The EUWDSS continued throughout the First World War but devoted its energies to raising funds for the war effort. The society seemed to disappear in 1924 but was resurrected as 'The Talking Women' Society in the following year. This was an exclusive society limited to 40 women members and it held very formal debates in black evening dress. (35) It was set up by Masson Hall residents and held meetings both at the Hall and in the Women's Union. Its title while suggesting some forceful women's group was recalled as having been a recognition of a nickname conjured up by the men students. The founders had nearly named it after the greek word for 'chatterers'. Its restriction to women only and its formal structure suggest some attempt to hold on to middle-class social values which were disintegrating in the 1920s.

34. EUWDS Minutes 1895-7

35. Laurence, Margaret, 'Anecdorage' op. cit. p.127

The examples of the debate topics of the EUWDS reveal an awareness by women students of the wider feminist issues. This awareness was also present in the Queen Margaret College Society. Both societies were articulating the thoughts of women students and as such they were an important channel of expression for women. They also trained women in the art of public speaking and perhaps this was the real importance of the debating societies. Indeed the EUWDS claimed :

'If you wish in after life to be able to head an insurrections, give a public lecture, conduct the business of a sewing meeting, or dismiss cook with perfect ease - here you may learn the art.' (36)

Another key point was the fact that all four Scottish Universities had womens' debating societies. They were an attempt to emulate the men students and to establish within the universities proof that women had indeed arrived and could form their own corporate lifestyle, even if membership levels were low. A final point to note was the inter-communication between the women's debating societies which fostered a common identity and mutual support of each other. The development of a network of university women had therefore begun to take shape. Any concluding comments about the feminist nature of women's university societies therefore have to recommend the activities of the women's debating societies as examples of feminist thought and action but they were not

36. EU student Handbook vol 19 1914-1915, p. 258

pressure groups trying to change their position of women within the universities and they were not aggressive in their organisation. They attempted to conform and run their societies as normal university societies and they sought university recognition. Their very presence and recognition revealed the acceptance of women's societies alongside the men. They gave passive reminders to university women about the thoughts that should be on their mind but they stopped short of any militant actions or rhetoric. Other women's societies within the universities also tended to be a reflection of the 'separate but equal' approach.

Suffrage

University women were not separated from the wider consciousness of women in Edwardian society. Therefore, although it appeared that they were fairly passive in their attitude to women's issues, they could not cut themselves off from the political issues of the day and indeed the intellectual atmosphere of the university may well have increased that awareness. The suffrage question was a highly evocative one and of importance to women students. Education for public life and participation on an equal basis was one key ideal of the suffrage campaign. It is not the purpose here to narrate the history of the suffrage movement but to show the extent to which it

affected university women and their reactions to it. It has to be noted that the Scottish contribution to the suffrage movement was very important but its history has on the whole been neglected by historians of the national movement. (37) This neglect is partly a result of the dearth of documents and records. Given this lack of material this assessment of the impact of the suffrage question on university women can therefore only be tentative and somewhat cursory.

The Scottish Women Graduates' Case

The suffrage campaign affected university women both as a group and as individual women students and graduates in a more personal way. There were two aspects of the suffrage campaign which affected university women in a general way. The first of these was the public campaign by a group of Edinburgh women graduates to obtain the right to vote in the 1906 election. The joint parliamentary seat held by the Universities of St Andrews and Edinburgh was being contested for the first time since women had been admitted to the universities and under the rules for university franchise 'persons of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity' who were graduates were entitled to vote. Five women graduates of Edinburgh - Frances H Melville, Frances H Simson, Jessie Chrystal MacMillan, Margaret Nairn and Elsie Inglis - applied to receive

37. King, Elspeth The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement, (pamphlet, 1978) She notes the lack of primary sources and records.

voting papers.(38) This request was refused and the women immediately contested the decision in the Scottish Court of Session in June 1906.

At the centre of the women graduates' case was the interpretation of three pieces of legislation. These were the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act 1868, the Universities Elections Amendment (Scotland) Act 1881 and the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889. The women argued that they were members of the General Council and graduates under the 1889 Act, that the registrar had a duty to receive voting papers and to allow them to vote and have their votes counted.

The decision by Lord Salvesen in June 1906 was that 'person' meant 'male', declaring that the action was incompetent because the pursuers were incapacitated by sex. There was in his conclusion no implication in the Ordinances and statutes to imply that women had the right to vote. By the unwritten constitutional law it was interpreted that 'person' meant 'man'. Indeed women were

38. Margaret Nairn and Frances Simson were two of the first 'eight ladies' to graduate at Edinburgh in 1893. Chrystal MacMillan graduated BSc MA in 1896 and 1900. Frances Melville (MA EU 1897) who was by this time warden at University Hall St Andrews made a wide-ranging and significant contribution to the women's movement. Elsie Inglis graduated from Edinburgh MBCM in 1899 and played a central role in the setting up of the Scottish Women's Hospital movement. W. N. Boog Watson, 'The First Eight Ladies', op. cit.

barred from county and burgh elections so it was unlikely that an exception would be made to include them in an election for university members. He concluded that the denial of the vote to women was on the ground of decorum, it was not to underrate their worth or intellect.(39) This was the kind of statement which would have certainly aroused the women to further action.

They did indeed appeal and questioned the whole basis of his decision, arguing that their names were on the register by the Act of 1881, that the Vice-Chancellor had the power to decide on the actions of the registrar, and questioned the interpretation of the 1868 Act on the basis of whether a legal incapacity equalled sexual disqualification. The university franchise was unique as it was based on an educational qualification, not on property or taxation. Lords McLaren, Pearson and Ardwell ruled on 16th November 1907 that apart from university representation women had never had the right to vote therefore in common law it was restricted to men only. They argued their case from the acts of 1868 and 1881, excluding the Ordinances to admit women. Further they argued that if Parliament had wanted women to have the vote it would have said so.

39. Court of Session Cases, 1908 p 113

Undeterred by this decision against them the women took their case to the House of Lords. A circular was sent out and there was a generous response in donations. A petition was sent to the University member, Sir John Barry Tuke. The press had given their case much publicity and they now reported fully the Lords Appeal.

It will be recalled that thirty years previously Sophia Jex-Blake had stopped short of an appeal to the House of Lords regarding her right to graduation from Edinburgh University. This time the women graduates felt they had a strong case and had the confidence to proceed. So much so in fact that Miss Chrystal Macmillan personally addressed the House to plead her own case. After a long wait before being called she entered the House on 10th and 12th November 1908. The Glasgow Herald gave great details of her aparell:

'The modern Portia wore a cloth costumed as near in colour as fashion permitted to that of her Shakesperian prototype with a small fur necklet and a wide brimmed hat to match her dress...' (40)

Miss Simson in contrast wore black. Miss MacMillan presented her case with great distinction and clarity. She argued again that the university franchise was quite distinct from any other being based on an intellectual test. Further she argued that the registrar had acted in contravention of the statutes to issue them papers and

40. Glasgow Herald 11/11/1908, p.11a

this had prevented them from appealing to the Vice-Chancellor's court which was the statutory tribunal where the question should have been decided. She cited in particular the School Board (Scotland) Act of 1872 which had indeed voted women onto its boards. Any legal capacity she felt should not be based on sex. Indeed she made the important point that there was no precedent in common law where a new franchise was under question. The women were at this stage optimistic about the outcome. In a letter to Miss Simson on 16th November 1908 Miss Elizabeth Haldane sent her congratulations:

'Our best congratulations on the conduct of your case. Whatever the result this will do great things for the cause and makes me proud of my sex.' (41)

The next day Miss Simson received a letter from Miss Nairn thanking her for their presentation of the case to the House of Lords:

'Your words and Miss MacMillan's will go down in history! Nothing could have been more clear and convincing and if the verdict be unfavourable, it will be in the face of the clearest evidence. I feel that personally I owe you a .. deep debt of gratitude.' (42)

In fact the Lords proceeded to dismiss the case on December 10th, 1908 and the women had to pay costs. There was in their view a legal incapacity debarring women from the franchise and in constitutional principle and practice this was reinforced. (43)

41. EUL, Gen1877/14 ELEA papers, Miscellaneous correspondence.

42. *ibid.*

43. Session papers, *op.cit.* vol 1909 p.147

Although the women had lost their case they had in fact given a great publicity boost to the suffrage cause. They had proved that as women doctors and teachers with professional standing they had been debarred from voting while the law allowed ex-criminals and the like to have the vote simply because they were male. The women were very indignant that they were as 'women' not classed as persons.(44) They had proved by their non-militant conduct and their presentation of their case that they had every justification for the rights of citizenship.

The Scottish Women Graduates case had also given a stimulus to women within the Universities and this was the second aspect of the suffrage question which affected university women. The foundation of women's suffrage societies within the universities occurred after the beginning of the women graduates case to the Court of Session and some credit must be given to this for stimulating the thoughts of women students towards the suffrage question. After all, of the five women involved in the appeal they were all pioneers of the 1890s and their names would have been known to some. Women students' suffrage societies were set up in all four universities but it will be useful again to compare the developments at Glasgow and Edinburgh.

44. Macmillan, Chrystal, The struggle for political liberty pamphlet, 16/2/1909 (NLS)

Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society

The Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society was founded in February 1907. Its object was to promote interest about the women's movement amongst students and to obtain the Parliamentary franchise for women on the same terms as it was granted to men. The subscription was 1/- and was open to women, past and present members of Queen Margaret College as full members and it later admitted men as associates. It was constitutional, non-militant and run on non-party lines. To achieve its aims it held meetings, circulated literature and opened a suffrage library. The QMCSS petitioned the Senate for recognition as a university society and was refused. After canvassing the professors, Leila McNeill delivered an appeal from the QMCSS University Court which was upheld. The Court insisted however that the society would have to pay for all damage and destruction to College property, obviously expecting suffragette militancy to spill over into the university. However as Leila McNeill recalled 'everything was circumspect and non-militant'.(45) Many women students were suspicious of anything with a suffrage label and equated it to the suffragettes. Some were not interested and there was a drive to find recruits. Miss McNeill commented on the fact that many women would allow nothing to distract from their studies. About 60 to 70 women were members in 1913 but this was felt by the society to be a

45. Glasgow Herald 9/12/1968

token representation out of the 600 matriculated women students. (46)

They also published a magazine called, 'Jus Suffragii Alumnae' which brought together all the thoughts on the women's question. (47) It publicised the work of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, the Women's Freedom League and the WSPU. It published a series of articles by women students and publicised forthcoming debates on the franchise and public meetings. (48) 'Come and justify your university existence' was the rallying call. (49)

In the editorial of the 1909 edition comparison was made with the medical women's fight and suggested that the Queen Margaret girls owed their very student existence to Sophia Jex-Blake and the pioneers. It was interesting to note that the pioneer contribution was recalled as a justification for participation in the suffrage campaign. Leila McNeill recalled that, 'we showed the world - that is the University authorities and the men students - that "QM" stood solid for suffrage'. (50) Indeed the Jus

46. The Only Way, magazine of the EUWSS. See footnote 54.

47. Jus Suffragii Alumnae, 1909, GUA 30994

48. Both Mrs Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst spoke at university meetings in 1909. Christabel Pankhurst also took tea in the Women's Union in Buckingham Terrace by which the QMCSS set great store. (Leila McNeill op.cit.) University life was also affected by the suffrage movement. For example, in 1912 the installation of the new Lord Rector, Augustine Birrell was interrupted by suffragettes. (Glasgow Herald, 6/12/1912)

49. Jus Suffragii Alumnae op.cit.

50. McNeill, Leila, op.cit.

Suffragii Alumnae noted that:

'the women graduates of our Scottish Universities are at present by the august decree of the House of Lords, non-entities of somewhat equivocal repute. We are assured on the highest legal authority that we are not "persons" ' (51)

During the First World War in line with all other university activities normal meetings were suspended in place of war efforts and the QMCSS was no different. They undertook two forms of social work. They ran a nursery with weekly consultations for mothers. This was organised in league with the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies. (NUWSS). They also held weekly social meetings for women employed in the Emergency Workrooms of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades.(52) There is no information available about when it ceased to exist although it disappeared from the Handbooks about 1918.

Edinburgh University Women's Suffrage Society

The Edinburgh University Women's Suffrage Society was set up two years after the Glasgow one in February 1909. Membership was open to all matriculated women students and medical women and charged an annual subscription of 1/-. It aimed to educate opinion in the University of Edinburgh on the question of the women's suffrage question, planned meetings and debates and the distribution of literature and newspaper correspondence as a means of publicising their cause. The Society was affiliated to the Scottish

51. Jus Suffragii Alumnae op. cit.

52. Glasgow University Calendar vol 1916-17

Universities Women's Suffrage Union and already in June 1909 had published a magazine entitled, "The Only Way". (53) It is not known how frequently the magazine was published but a 1913 edition has survived. Like the "Jus Suffragii Alumnae" it aimed to publicise all aspects of the suffrage question, including the activities of the national groups. It included brief histories of the movement and an article by Chrystal MacMillan on 'The world progress of Woman Suffrage 1910-1913' and an article on the French suffrage movement. It reported progress in other Scottish University centres and in an article by Frances H Simson MA women students were reminded of the work done by the pioneers in education and that help was still needed to win the battle. (54) It is significant that two of the women involved in the graduate case were addressing the women students in this way.

By 1911 the EUWSS had widened its membership to men students. It also boasted a small library of books on the suffrage issue, indicating in its own words its increased strength. Again membership figures are unknown. By 1912 the EUWSS had appointed an Honorary President, Dr Sarolea and two honorary Vice-Presidents, Miss Chrystal Macmillan and Dr Elsie Inglis. By 1913 it was established enough to hold joint debates with the Fabian and Economic societies and with the Women's Christian Union.

53. Edinburgh University Students' Handbook vol 14 1909-10, page 293

54. 'The Only Way' 1913 (NLS)

The onset of war altered the EUWSS's approach:

'At this time, when all interests are turned into one channel, this society does not claim to justify its existence solely as a Suffrage Society' (55)

It held ad hoc meetings but they were more wide-ranging and it also cooperated with other Societies in relief work and in particular organised a War-savings association but this overlapped with the activities of the Women's Committee of the SRC and it fell through. Indeed war brought an end to the society. Its membership had fallen and with the passing of the Franchise Act of 1918 one of the reasons for its existence had gone. It decided not to extend its activities into social schemes. Therefore in due course the EUWSS was dissolved and its funds were handed over to the War Relief Scheme. (56)

The evidence from this brief summary of the activities of the two university suffrage societies suggests a high degree of popular support amongst women students. Indeed on October 9th 1909 women graduates were one part of a large suffrage parade along with many other suffrage societies which staged an historical pageant along Princes' Street, Edinburgh as a reminder to people of famous women in Scottish history. (57)

Suffragettes also brought the votes for women question to the attention of women students when they burnt down the Gatty Marine Laboratory at St Andrews University and also

55. EU Student Handbook vol 20 1915-16 p 259

56. *ibid.*

57. King, Elspeth, *op. cit.* p.3

nearby Leuchars station in 1913. A Suffrage summer school organised by the NUWSS was held at University Hall, St Andrews in 1914.(58)

Another point of note is the decision by both the Glasgow and Edinburgh societies to admit men students as members or associates. This was in contradiction to some of the suffrage societies which remained stalwartly all female. In part the admission of men was a reflection of the growth in Scotland of male support for the women's suffrage cause. A Men's League for Women's Suffrage supporting all suffrage groups was formed in 1907.(59)

A cautionary note however has to be sounded about the assumption that women students were all totally involved in the suffrage question. One women student when asked if she was aware of the activities of the suffrage movement replied:

"Oh very much aware of it of course, I hadn't realised that it was the time I was at University. All this chaining..themselves to railings. It didn't enter into our life very much.

Some of the women at University formed a Suffrage Society at Edinburgh.

Did they? I'm afraid I didn't belong to it and I don't even remember anything about it...I'm afraid that it didn't make a great deal of impact on me or any of my friends really, we were too busy with our affairs and having any freedom we wanted. I don't think the vote mattered to us at that age very much.....One read about them all the time but my friends and I somehow didn't get caught up in it in any way. It was outside our lives' (60)

58. *ibid.* p.24-5

59. *ibid.* p 22

60. Mrs Lawson, *op. cit.*

Another Edinburgh student between 1908 and 1912 had less hazy recollections but she was still not caught up in it:

'I had two girls in a German class. One of them delighted in setting fire to post boxes, she was a very militant suffragette. I didn't like that. I'm much more of a home person I always have been, but mother was, she saw the need for women's rights and she was a member of the people who wanted to do it by peaceful means...I couldn't get up any enthusiasm for it. I think everybody was interested up to a point but I think most of us if I remember rightly were horrified at the things that the Suffragettes did.' (61)

Therefore there was a certain muted response to the suffrage cause within the Scottish Universities although there was within the group of women students a degree of consciousness about the effect of external political events but in a sense the university cushioned them from its effects. The fear of being caught up in the militant side of the campaign seemed to discourage many of the women from active participation.

This however did not exclude individual support. Instead of the suffrage question coming to the women students, they and their graduate colleagues went to the suffrage movement. This is an important point to note because the women were not living in some separate enclave. Thus we find women students and graduates joining the WSPU and the NUWSS.

The interlinkages between the general women's movement and the educational campaign have been crucial throughout this narrative. The strands of continuity of people and associations between the pre 1892 and post 1892 period

61. Mrs Duncan, 7/2/1980

have already been highlighted.(62) In particular it was the interaction of individuals within a particular social network which was most noticeable and the recurrence of the names of some of the pioneer women in many different activities was also apparent. This was the case also in the suffrage campaign and especially so in Edinburgh.

In the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage, Miss Louisa Stevenson was a key member and chaired some of its meetings. An organisation of long-standing of some thirty years, in its membership list can be seen many of the stalwarts of the higher education campaign including Miss Flora Stevenson, sister of Louisa, Dr Agnes M'Laren, Miss Sarah Mair, Miss Urquhart and Miss Wright, Dr Elsie Inglis, and Miss Houldsworth. (63)

The Scottish Churches League for Women's Suffrage set up in 1912 also boasted a familiar list. On its Executive or General Council were Miss Sarah E S Mair, Miss Louisa Lumsden, Elsie Inglis, Chrystal MacMillan, Frances Simson and Frances H Melville.(64) Dr Marion Gilchrist was closely involved with the setting up of the Scottish headquarters of the WSPU in 1908.(65)

62. See chapters One and Two

63. Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage Annual Report 1901

64. Scottish Churches League for Women's Suffrage Report 1913.(NLS)

65. King , Elspeth, op. cit., p. 15

The names of these women mentioned above are all ones which we find in the student suffrage magazines or as honorary office-bearers of the student suffrage societies. As early women graduates of the 1890s or established campaigners on behalf of women their continued interest in the concerns of women revealed the effect which university education had on those who were prepared to use their education to challenge the existing political status quo. Elsie Inglis in particular perhaps did most for the Scottish Federation of Scottish Suffrage Societies as its honorary secretary, touring the country organising and speaking at meetings. She was, as her biographer commented, to Scotland what Mrs Fawcett was to England. (66) Dr Elsie Inglis had no sympathy with militancy and believed that law-breaking went against any claim to citizenship. She had close contacts with many of the leading campaigners and acted as hostess to many of them including the Snowdons, and the Pethick-Lawrences .

Another early graduate whose name hit the headlines with more dramatic effect was Mrs Elizabeth Chalmers Smith (nee Lyness) who had followed Marion Gilchrist in 1894 as one of the earliest woman medical graduates from a Scottish University. In July 1913 she was accused of an attempt to set fire to the mansion of Sir John Muir together with an Edinburgh artist Ethel Moorhead. Mrs Smith was in fact

66. Lawrence, M. Shadow of Swords, op.cit, page 81

caught in the house and arrested. Miss Moorhead was arrested outside. At Mrs Smith's trial in the High Court, Glasgow in the October of that year the women refused to have any legal adviser. The jury found them guilty and when Lord Salvesen , the presiding judge , pronounced an eight month prison sentence there was a riot and the judge was pelted with missiles. The women were taken to Duke street prison where they went on hunger strike and after serving part of their sentence were released under the Cat and Mouse Act. (67)

Leila McNeill was a student at Queen Margaret College from 1905 to 1911 and she is an example of a student who participated in both the women's suffrage societies within the university and the WSPU. She sold 'Votes for Women' magazines when newspaper sellers boycotted it, outside the King's Theatre in Glasgow and also at the Central station there. When handbills couldn't be printed she helped chalk pavements. When she went home in vacations to the family home in Kirkwall, Orkney, she organised meetings and gave speeches. She enlisted the help of her brothers and classmates when Chrystal MacMillan spoke at a Glasgow University meeting. She was also President of the QMCSS in her final year. At a by-election in Glasgow the WSPU called for volunteers from QMCSS to chalk pavements and steward meetings. Thus in some instances the internal and

67. Glasgow Herald, 30/4/1985 and E. King., op.cit.

external activities of this women student were closely entwined.(68) Another Glasgow student Margaret M M Farquarson was involved in a House of Commons upset and as a protest against a 10/- fine spent five days in Holloway jail.(69)

Image, identity and consciousness : the feminist perspective

Some of the perceptions of women students about their role within the male dominated institution and how far their expression of these views were part of the feminist movement have thus been revealed. It will be useful to sum up some of the key points about these three themes examined, namely 'image', 'identity' and 'consciousness'

As a new phenomenon in university life, women had their image pre-determined by male expectations which in turn were conditioned by contemporary ideals of Victorian women. The consciousness of this by women students led them to underplay their sexual identity in order to project an image which would not distract from their academic achievements. Image was controlled by the desire to prove themselves to men students and the university authorities and also to prove or justify to their families that university education was worthwhile. The problem of

68. McNeill, Leila op. cit.

69. Crichton, Anne C, op. cit. p. 20

'image' was greatest for the medical women who had faced the greatest opposition from men as students and from within the profession. They were therefore the most cautious about what kind of image they had.

Beyond the problems of image lay 'identity'. The 'separate but equal' theme only dominated the formal aspects of university life at Glasgow where the QMC was separate and it is true to say that mixed classes at the Scottish Universities enhanced the level of integration. However, where the 'separate but equal' theme did dominate was at the informal levels of university social life. This perpetuated the 'separate' identity of women students and although it was gradually broken down by the opening of many societies to both men and women it did not permeate the more formal social structures like the students' unions which remained firmly apart for many years. This 'separate' identity was of a passive nature and by resigned choice. Women graduates on the other hand also had their own means of unity through the BFUW. It is noteworthy that there was no comparable British Federation of University Men indicating that the 'post graduate' experience of women was of a different nature.

Image and identity exhibit many of the feminist characteristics of self-assertion and awareness. The third aspect, 'consciousness' is the most powerful of the three themes in identifying the feminist role of women students.

The Women's Debating Societies did raise the consciousness of women students but it was limited to those who joined the societies or attended the meetings. It did extend the awareness of women's position by its very existence as a women's society. The societies were articulate and assertive about the role of women. They analysed their rights to equal citizenship and also revealed the awareness they had of the challenge which their university education placed on them. They were aware of the resultant conflicts between home and university life.

The effect of external issues like the suffrage question was to extend this awareness beyond the university arena. To a certain extent women students followed rather than led the suffrage movement. They dutifully set up their societies and paid homage to their heroines but they were cautious about involvement in militancy, the effect of which was to dilute the feminist outlook within the university. It was left to the graduates and the minority with a more militant tendency to have greater involvement in the wider suffrage movement as witnessed by the Scottish Women Graduates court case and Lords' Appeal and those involved in the national suffrage societies.

It has therefore to be concluded that an interpretation from a feminist perspective which looks at university women as victims of oppression and struggle is untenable. What can be seen from this brief survey of university

women is that the forces which determined feminist action were of a more complex nature and related to a wider interaction between women and their social environment, their social background and their individual experiences.

Women's unions, SRC committees and societies were not in the vanguard of a great feminist movement within the universities to challenge for greater equality and rights. They may well have reflected the views and outlook of women students and as such they were passive vehicles of feminist thought. They have to be placed firmly in the context of being set up as duplicate bodies, equivalent to the men's groups and the sense of imitation was indeed strong. This does not deny that the existence of women's associations was a form of positive response. There was a strong desire not to jeopardise their own position within the universities which had been won after many years of effort and persuasion.

The suffrage issue created its own heroines for the early generation of university women, heroines who just happened to be early graduates of the Scottish Universities and pioneers in their own right. In the end legal action did more to raise the consciousness of women students than the internal rhetoric of women's societies just as it had done in the period of Sophia Jex-Blake but one was necessary to the other in order to make gains, the 'militant' standing alongside the 'passive'.

Chapter Six

Women graduates; careers, marriage and public life

The social origins of women graduates and their lifestyles have so far been the central focus of the discussion. It is important however to look beyond this to the destinations of women graduates after they have received their degrees and to examine the relationship of university educated women to the labour market. There will however be no attempt to assess the nature of their 'careers' in terms of equality of opportunity or to examine the career development of women graduates in any depth but merely to state what is known about the statements of occupation given by the women in graduate registers as an indication of choice of career, if any, which women graduates made. Although we shall be mainly concerned with graduates some important comments will also be made about the women students who did not graduate partially to explain the early graduation trends but also to recognise the fact that in the earliest days of women's admission to the universities in Scotland for many it was enough to have some higher education even if it did not include a degree at the end of it. (1)

1. This was in fact a typical 19th century pattern noted by among others Mathew, W M 'The origins and occupations of Glasgow students, 1740-1839' Past and Present, 1966 and Morgan, Alexander 'Matriculation in the Faculty of Medicine prior to 1858', UEJ, 1936-7

The advent of university educated women laid down new expectations about their role in society. Their destination was to be conditioned by three key activities, namely, career, marriage or public service. As we shall see these three key themes were not mutually exclusive and new combinations of these were to develop. The traditional domestic ideals of wife and motherhood had been gradually eroded by the Victorian concerns for the plight of the single woman and already by the turn of the century new avenues of career were opening up and indeed the First World War was a crucial watershed in expanding these opportunities. However, even by the 1920s and 1930s there were limitations to this new pattern.

Thus, to highlight the main trends of women graduates' destinations, a series of statistical tables will be presented in this chapter looking at the pattern of career and marriage of women graduates from the evidence of two centres, Aberdeen and Glasgow. Some comparison will be made between the published material, archive evidence and oral material; in doing so a picture will emerge from the different strands of evidence which will give some preliminary indications of the career and marriage pattern of women graduates at the Scottish Universities.

Sources and Methodology

The selection of sources was based on the availability of material and was supplemented by some preliminary research carried out at Glasgow University using the graduate lists compiled for the statistical survey. To augment this, use was made of obituary notices in graduates journals, biographical accounts and the oral evidence.

On graduation from university, membership of the General Council was compulsory and the Registers of the General Councils offer full lists of names and addresses of graduates together with degree, year of graduation and what was noted as 'designation' or occupation.(2) The onus for update of information varied across the four Scottish Universities and tended to rest on the graduates themselves informing the Registrar of changes in their situation. Aberdeen University, which has so far played a quiet role in the narrative, is the only one to offer the researcher the most complete register of graduates. The **Roll of Graduates** has been updated regularly and offers some analytical information which is absent from the other three Universities.(3) Some of the data will be presented below.

2. "Designation" was used as a broader term than occupation which included titles not usually noted under occupation.

3. Watt, T. (ed) Roll of Graduates of the University of Aberdeen 1901-25 (1935)

In addition the other key source is the Glasgow University **General Council Albums** and its associated **Register of Marriages of Female Graduates** which were utilised because a separate women graduate list had already been compiled from the social background survey. It was therefore straightforward to check the women graduate list against the entries in the General Council lists and to a lesser extent the Register of Marriages. It would have been too large a task to have attempted a similar survey of Edinburgh or St Andrews women graduates. The Glasgow material will be examined first.

The onus for update of information in the **General Council Albums** at Glasgow University rested with the graduates themselves. In the case of marriages the information comes from a separate **Register of Marriages** of female graduates which was compiled by the University on notification of marriage. Not all women graduates would necessarily have intimated their marriage to the Registrar. Press notices may have been scanned and the individual contacted thereafter to fill in the Register of Marriage form. It cannot be said with any degree of certainty that it was a systematic or continuous procedure. Certainly the Register of Marriages contains full information on husbands occupation, date and place of marriage. The Notice of Marriage in the case of a female graduate was transferred to the General Council Album, the graduate remaining under her maiden name. There were very

few marriages reported in the General Council Album which had not already been reported in the Register. Any under-representation or bias is therefore due to the factor of non-notification.

The factors of under-representation and bias are multiplied in the case of the information on designation in the General Council Albums. Here again the onus was on the graduate to notify any change in their situation to the Registrar. When a graduate registered in the General Council Album as a member of the University she was required to state her designation. For instance in many cases the graduate was continuing her studies for a second degree or for a teaching diploma and would still consider herself as a student, thus the designation "student" is a misleading one, and indeed was frequently never updated. Women medicals often listed their degree qualifications as designation but there is no information to state whether, for example, married women were still in the profession or not. In the case of many others the designation category is left blank, some are not listed at all on the register either because their whereabouts were unknown but more commonly because of death. The designation information is therefore fraught with problems and the data contained in the General Council Albums therefore was (and is still today) often out of date and inaccurate. However providing these problems are acknowledged it is still

possible to identify the direction and destination of women graduates.

The lack of updated material and its related problems made a yearly examination of the Glasgow General Council Albums a futile task. It was therefore decided to scan the Albums for the years 1914, 1918, and 1924 to cross check the previously compiled women graduate lists with the entries under the General Council. The choice of these years was somewhat arbitrary and rested on the availability of the source material. In addition these years were selected to give a suitable ten year scan. The women graduate numbers for the early 1890s were rather low and it was decided not to scan from the ten years after 1894. A consistent annual graduate output did commence from the early 1900s, so the year 1914 was chosen as the bench mark year for the graduate output of the years 1894 to 1904 although there was considerable cross-checking in earlier volumes. Graduates from the 1904 to 1908 period were also scanned in the years 1914 and 1918. The year 1918 was selected as a second year to scan, again a suitable interval to search for change in designation and marriage, and also partly to investigate and account for any changes due to the effect of the First World War. Graduates of the 1911 - 1914 group were scanned in the 1918 and 1924 Albums. Notification of marriage was noted at these benchmark years. Although only three benchmark years were used to check the designations of graduates

systematically, considerable cross-checking was also made in other years to identify graduates whose occupation appeared to be unknown. It would not have been useful to extend the survey beyond these years because of the problem of the lists not being updated. Thus by noting the designation of women in this way it was possible to build up a picture of careers and marriage trends of the early women graduates at Glasgow University even although some of the data was not as accurate as one might have hoped.

Career and Marriage Trends

(1) Non-graduating women students

Before examining the nature of career choice of women graduates it is important to consider the element of non-graduation. The number of women who completed their course and graduated was in fact less than the first year entrant figures for any given year. Some obvious reasons like ill-health or financial circumstances can be assumed to cause part of this 'drop-out' rate although the terminology is a more modern concept. Other reasons were due to contemporary attitudes. The pattern of non-graduation is in fact revealing in itself of the changing attitude to a university degree held by women and is a reflection of the changing employment conditions which occurred in the period 1894-1914, in particular in the teaching profession. It is important therefore to examine some of the characteristics of this group.

Table 6.2 below will reveal the low number of Arts women at Glasgow who graduated in the early years of women's admission relative to the number of women students. (4) This can be explained by the phenomenon of 'dropping out'. Table 6.1 reveals the non-graduation pattern.

First year entrants in four sample years were selected to investigate the proportion of women students who became graduates. The matriculation albums were scanned for the academic sessions 1895-6, 1900-1, 1905-6 and 1910-11. Using the General Council Albums and the previously compiled list of women graduates, the names of first year entrants were noted and checked against the listings to identify the number of graduates from each sample year. In addition, in the sample 1910-11 first year male entrants were also listed and checked against the General Council Albums.

**Table 6.1 The 'graduate' rate at Glasgow University
in four sample years**

Session	total no of women entrants	No. of 1st year students	No of first years who graduate	% graduates
1895-6	241	130	32	24.6
1900-1	350	178	42	23.6
1905-6	503	170	102	60.0
1910-11	682	195	140	71.8
men 1910-11	(2108)	(517)	(240)	(46.4)

(sources: Annual Statistics Returns, matriculation albums and General Council Albums.)

4. See below Table 6.2

Table 6.1 shows that the number of women attending Glasgow University with a view to graduation increased over the sample years from 24.4 per cent of the 1895-6 entrants to 60.0 per cent of the 1905-6 group and 71.8 per cent of the 1910-11 group. There was a slight decrease from the 1895 figure in 1900-1. Each sample group was checked up to ten years after their first time entry as students to allow for those who may have taken longer than the normal time to complete their studies.

The corresponding figure for men students was less than the women for 1910-11 but other factors may have caused this lower figure other than an apparent upsurge in women graduates; in particular the effects of the First World War especially for students on longer courses like medicine whose studies may have been interrupted in the war years; some may have joined up before completion and indeed many lost their lives in the trenches. Also some of the male intake were Chinese or Indian doing a BSc in engineering and again war may have interrupted their studies.

Nonetheless despite these qualifications the data does reveal an interesting trend in the completion rate of women students and a changing attitude to a university degree. In 1895-6 many of the Arts women who matriculated attended single classes in English Literature or French Literature, thus using these classes as some cultural

experience or as part of accepted middle-class social activities or as a continuation of the attendance pattern at Queen Margaret College before it was incorporated into the university. There were certainly many contemporary references to the debutante attenders in the early years of the 1890s but this may well have been as much a reflection of male suspicions. For other women students their failure to complete their course and graduate may have been due to personal circumstances as this was the period prior to the financial aid of the Carnegie Trust although their fathers' occupations could be grouped in a broad middle-class range. (5) Others may have found that they were unprepared for the academic standard demanded. There was certainly a variety of reasons why this low graduation rate occurred in the 1890s and the main one seems to have been the desire of many women students to attend single classes. It is certainly a middle-class characteristic. It is also significant that these non-graduating women students would have played a part in the integration and acceptance process of the 1890s.

The figures for 1905-6 and 1910-11 in Table 6.1 reflect the changing attitude to degrees. They began to have greater vocational use as the standards of teacher training were raised and as the links between the universities and the training colleges were made closer. The role of the church training colleges declined and the universities became another avenue to teacher training.

5. See Appendix Four

In the nineteenth century there had been several avenues to becoming a teacher, either through the pupil teacher system (a five year apprenticeship and then on to a Normal School under Scholarship schemes) , or through the church colleges. (6) Concurrent courses began to offer the chance to attend one or two university classes and perhaps take a degree. A Diploma in Education offered at Edinburgh became acceptable as a qualification for teaching. In 1895 Studentships were introduced which was a scheme to offer a student professional and academic training under the Universities. The growth of secondary schools had much to do with the increase in standards of qualified teachers. Indeed the increased demand for teachers and the inability of the Church colleges to cater for it led the universities to have a greater role in the training of teachers. There was however now some rivalry and lack of direction to the training of teachers. In 1904 when John Struthers became Secretary in Education, the teacher training system was remodelled and in the four University centres a Provincial Committee was set up to organise the training in its area. The church colleges were transferred to the Committees with guarantees about religious instruction. As well as a Junior Studentship scheme for 15

6. Cruickshanks, M., The history of the Training of Teachers in Scotland (1970), passim. Chapter III grade for primary teaching involved either one year post qualifying course for graduates or 2-3 year course. Chapter V was a grade for secondary school teaching which included courses for honours graduates.

to 18 year olds there was a fully defined Senior Studentship which graded training according to the type of teaching. There were also two types of training; either a concurrent system of attending college and university classes or a degree course followed by a one year post-graduate course. Cruickshanks has noted that Edinburgh and Dundee had more students who followed the concurrent courses and Glasgow and Aberdeen had more post-graduate students. (7)

It is therefore clear that the changes in the organisation of the general training of teachers had an effect on the entrant pattern to the universities and certainly in the Glasgow case the reduction in the non-graduating element was directly related to these changes. Thus the evidence of the women students who did not use their university attendance as a stepping stone to a career suggests that it took time to assimilate the idea that women students had the ability and desire to complete their studies.

(2) Glasgow Women Graduates 1894-1914

It has already been indicated that the majority of women graduates entered the teaching profession. Even allowing for much of the data being less than reliable the apparent intention of the majority of Arts graduates and indeed of all women graduates at Glasgow University to enter the teaching profession will be shown from Table 6.2 to be significant.

7. *ibid.*

Table 6.2 overleaf summarises the main findings from the Glasgow General Council survey and indicates the main trends towards teaching suggested already by the increased graduation rate seen in Table 6.1 . Although the lack of accuracy of the designation data can be seen in the number of women graduates who listed their designation as 'students' or 'none', beyond this the table shows quite clearly that the two main professions sought by women graduates were teaching and medicine and that the majority by far went into teaching.

In some senses the pioneering spirits of the late 19th century always worked with a vision of campaigning for the rights of the single woman to have the opportunity to enter some respectable career and that only the gifted few would transcend these limits with particularly individual gifts, academic ability and single mindedness to make a name for themselves, and to make progress and in-roads into areas of work hitherto thought of as male only. To avoid over representation of the 'outstanding' graduates was the main argument in fact for looking in a general way at all the women who graduated at Glasgow in the period 1894-1914. Many women of course had an outstanding career followed by marriage, especially in the case of the women medicals.

Table 6.2 Designations of women graduates :Glasgow University 1894-1914

Year	not listed	Doctors	teachers	None married	student secretary	Others specified	TOTAL
1894	-	4	-	-	-	-	4
1895	-	1	1	1	-	-	3
1896	1	5	-	-	-	-	6
1897	-	7	1	1	-	metallurgist	11
1898	3	16	4	5	1	-	34
1899	2	9	1	4	2	tutor	22
1900	1	14	7	6	-	-	31
1901	-	11	10	4	1	-	33
1902	-	3	13	7	-	-	26
1903	2	18	17	5	2	-	47
1904	4	11	18	12	1	-	54
1905	1	10	26	14	3	-	63
1906	-	10	42	8	8	-	72
1907	1	7	35	11	4	uni assist Hminspector	67
1908	1	4	55	7	23	-	96
1909	7	7	69	13	9	-	112
1910	-	9	55	20	9	-	107
1911	3	14	71	26	5	PhD	127
1912	2	6	77	21	3	churchsister	121
1913	4	12	70	31	3	missionary Missionary chemist foreign corrs.	135
1914	4	14	91	43	-	-	165
Totals	36	192	663	238	78	10	1336
%	2.7	14.4	49.7	17.8	5.8	0.7	100

At one extreme we have already seen that there were women students who did not complete their studies. At the other there were these 'outstanding' women graduates, especially in the first decade of women's admission when the presence of a pioneering determined group of women produced a larger proportion of graduates in medicine. This explains the 1890s pattern of medical graduates in Table 6.2. The cluster of medical women was largely due to the effect of the opening of the Scottish University medical degrees to women, many of whom had in fact already passed the licentiate qualifications of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of Edinburgh or Glasgow or who had attended the Queen Margaret Medical School since 1890. The pattern of women doctors also varied considerably throughout the period and these fluctuations make it difficult to identify any real points of growth.

Looking at the year 1900 as an example, 7 women out of 31 graduates (22.6%) were teachers but this may well have been more if the three women listed in Table 6.2 as 'none' had been teachers. One of them was indeed listed in the General Council Albums much later as a 'schoolmistress'. The category of designation, 'none/married', may also have included former teachers because two out of this group were briefly registered as 'students' on graduation and may have gone into teacher-training. By 1912, 77 out of 121 women graduates or 63.6 per cent were teachers and a further 3 were still listed as students and a further 21

listed 'married' as their designation. Certainly the number of women teachers is under-represented throughout because of the unsatisfactory nature of the data. As the majority of students were in the Arts faculty it is no surprise by the late 1900s to see a procession of women teachers emerging from the student ranks. (8)

The number of women teachers over the whole period 1894-1914 is under-estimated by the lack of career information on women who had married. The majority of them were certainly Arts graduates and if they had gone into teaching prior to marriage they would have raised the percentage of teachers well beyond the fifty per cent mark. (9)

8. See Chapter Three where the statistics reveal that in the 1890s there was a high proportion of medical women at Glasgow but that the number of Arts women soon overtook them.

9. C. Logan, 'Women at Glasgow University-determination or predestination' (Undergraduate dissertation for MA degree, Glasgow University 1986) passim. Miss Logan examined two groups of women entrants at Glasgow University in 1893 and 1907 and her results confirm the tendency towards teaching. Her 1893 group of women entrants contained 24 women graduates out of a total of 99 first time matriculations (i.e. a graduation rate of only 24.2%) and 13 were doctors and two were teachers. In her 1907 group she also found the situation had changed when 118 out of 195 first-time entrants in that year went on to graduate (60.5%) and 92 of them or 77.9% of her graduate group were teachers.

This then is the real problem with the analysis of designation. It rests not only with the accuracy of the data but also with the destinations of those who listed 'none' as their designation or who said they were 'married'. It is extremely difficult to say from the evidence just what these women did with their lives after graduation, if they combined career and marriage or if they followed one with the other. It is most unlikely that women would continue their career after marriage because it was in general not the accepted thing to do and in some cases ruled as such. (10) The 'none's may have been those who went back to family duties or returned to a 'social' lifestyle but it is difficult to assess from the available evidence. Some may well have not known what they were going to do on graduation and later found a career but did not notify their designation.

There were many other careers listed but these were very much minority destinations compared to the teaching profession. It is significant to note that for those who did not want to teach there were other opportunities

10. Adams, Catherine, Teaching - a celibate profession; the marriage bar in Scotland 1915-1940 (MEd thesis GU 1987). She shows that local authorities varied their practice but that a written or unwritten procedure was in existence which excluded married women from teaching. Aberdeen-shire went as far as attempting to dismiss married women teachers in their employment. Others in other areas were transferred to temporary appointments or to supply teaching. There was also apparently very little protest over this procedure.

available. Thus table 6.2 has a metallurgist, a Tutor, university assistant, HM Inspector, missionary, chemist, foreign correspondent, chemist and lastly the largest of the "other" categories, namely secretaries.

There were few science graduates amongst the 1894-1914 group of graduates and only 29 science degrees were awarded to women in the period, and only 18 were first degrees. Ten women followed an Arts degree with a science degree and one followed a medical degree with a science degree. Of these 29, none were teachers, eight were married and the rest were in medicine or had some higher degrees. The role of women in science is one which should be pursued more thoroughly. (11)

Given the close relationship between choice of occupation and marriage as a destination, it is important now to examine the marriage rates of the Glasgow women in the period 1894-1914. Some indications have already been given about the division of destinations into career or marriage and Table 6.3 gives further details. (12) The trend towards teaching also has an important correlation to the marriage trends of women graduates. The propensity

11. Macleod, Roy & Mosely, 'Fathers and Daughters : Reflections on Women, Science and Victorian Cambridge', History of Education, 1979, vol 8 no 4 p 321-3

12. The issue of upward social mobility and improved socio-economic status through marriage has not been considered within the scope of the research into rate and time of marriage. It is however an important issue deserving more investigation. (See C Logan, op.cit. for some of comments on this.) Linked to this is the question of self recruitment to the Professions which Kelsall has examined. See Kelsall, R K op.cit.

**Table 6.3 Marriage Patterns of women graduates
Glasgow University 1894-1914**

year groupings	(1) Total no graduates	(2) by 1914	(3) No Married by 1918	(4) by 1924	% married column 4 to column 1
1894-1899	80	32	32	32	40.0
1900-1904	191	60	67	67	35.1
1905-1909	410	58	111	121	27.1
1910-1914	655	4	37	172	26.3
<hr/>					
	1336			392	29.3
				(Average: 32.7)	

(source : General Council Albums and graduate lists)

of the teaching profession to perpetuate a spinster profession is one which had a significant bearing on marriage trends. The choice of teaching meant delaying marriage or remaining a spinster. A minute proportion only of women graduates at Glasgow were noted in the General Council as being "married" and "teacher". It is probable in fact that this very small group were victims of the poor updating system of the Albums themselves. Yet in the Census for Scotland of 1911, 365 of 18,778 women listed in the teaching profession were in fact married. However it was the custom, if not the written rule, that women teachers resigned or left their posts on marriage and Adams' work has recently confirmed this. (13) It is a constant theme in qualitative evidence especially in the oral material below where graduates of all the Universities spoke frequently of long engagements and

13. Adams, C, op.cit.

delayed marriages and of women working in their chosen career for several years before marriage, either to earn sufficient income or to justify their higher education. This is a salient point which cannot be underestimated in terms of its significance for the career pattern of all women graduates. It is also one which requires much further research.

The table provides some evidence that the marriage rate of women graduates (reported cases) was low and that marriage appears to have been delayed in many cases. As some of the annual statistics were very low it was decided to divide the 1894-1914 period into four groups rather than assess the marriage rate on an annual basis. Table 6.3 reveals fluctuations in the proportion of graduates from each group who eventually married and also the implication of delayed marriage. In the year groups 1894-1899, 40 per cent of women graduates married. This had decreased to 35.1 per cent in the year group 1900-4 and in the next grouping of years from 1905 to 1909 only 27.1 per cent of women in this group had married by 1924. In the last year grouping from 1910-14 only 26.3 per cent of women graduates married. These figures indicate a relatively low marriage rate amongst women graduates, i.e. of married graduates to the total number of women graduates and it is a rate which was declining.

In the population at large the 1901 Census of Population for Scotland reveals that 30 per cent of the total population were married. The percentage of all women over fifteen years of age who were married in 1901 however was 44.3 per cent and in the age range 15 to 45 years the figure was 42.0 per cent giving a useful comparison with the percentage of women graduates who married from the 1894-9 group, which was slightly less than the Census figures. The 1911 Census shows a very slight change to 31.1 per cent of the total female population being married and 45.2 per cent of women over fifteen. These Census figures are higher than the graduates rate for both the 1900-4 and 1905-9 groups if one compares the over fifteen rate with the relative graduate years and overall these rough comparisons indicate a much lower rate of marriage for women graduates than the population as a whole. (14)

The reliability of the Marriage Register data may have accounted for the variation in the graduate marriage pattern compared to that of the total female population, in the sense of under-estimating the number of marriages recorded. The stronger conclusion however is that women graduates entered marriage at a slightly lower rate than the total female population and there is some evidence to show that marriage itself was delayed until some years after graduation.

14. Census of Population Scotland 1901 and 1911

Taking some of the annual rates from which Table 6.3 was compiled it is interesting to note that from the 1908 graduates, for example, only 6 women or 6.2 per cent in the 1908 group had married by 1914, six years after graduation, but four years later in 1918 this total had risen to 25 women graduates or 26 per cent. Again from the 1909 group only 8 women had been reported as married by 1914, 20 by 1918 and 30 by 1924 out of a total of 112 graduates. Using 1911 as another example, in 1918 only 17 women or 13.3 per cent of that year had married from the 1911 graduate group, but thirteen years after graduation in 1924, 34 women or 26.1 per cent of the 1911 group had married. These examples indicate the trends to later marriage. In the group 1905-9 there is a decline each year in the percentage of those who married from 34.9 per cent in 1905 to 26.7 per cent in 1909. This decline is largely due to the impact of the First World War on the chances of women finding a partner. In the 1910-14 grouping although the figure is lower overall than the 1905-9 group, the rate per year had begun to increase and in 1914, 51 out of 165 women graduates had married (30.9 per cent) by 1924.

In order to identify these trends in more detail the graduates of 1900 will be examined. The selection of the year 1900 was fairly arbitrary. In 1900 14 women were recorded as married out of 31 graduates. This may have

been caused by the systematic double checking of **General Council Albums and Registers of Marriage** which was done for this particular sample year. Certainly the trend to later marriage is amply confirmed. Of the 14 women who were reported to have married, 7 were doctors or at least listed their qualifications under designation. (15) Almost all of them delayed marriage. The earliest to marry was Christian Wood who married a solicitor in 1901. Agnes Sinclair married a clerk in 1904 and went to China. The remainder all married after 1907. Helen Mary Gordon married a GP in 1907 the year after she had completed her MD and was known to have continued in practice after her marriage. Jessie Deans Rankin who took an MA ordinary degree in 1900 followed this by a BSc in 1902 and a medical degree in 1907 and married another doctor in 1908. She was assistant Medical officer at Stobhill Hospital, Glasgow and later Senior House Surgeon at the Glasgow Samaritan Hospital. (16) Margaret Ritchie married a doctor in 1911. Lizzie Thomson Fraser took her MD in 1906 and was Assistant Bacteriologist at Glasgow Royal Infirmary before marrying a lecturer in 1914. Gertrude Taylor, the last of the married doctors group in the 1900 group married a 'gentleman' in 1907. This roll call quite clearly reveals the tendency to later marriage which most

15. Fourteen women graduated for the first time with medical degrees but the married group contains those who also took a medical degree after another first degree.

16. Medical Register and Directory, 1910

certainly involved these women doctors working in their profession before marriage. It is almost certain that they were also able to continue their profession in some capacity after marriage but more investigation is required. Of the six women in the 'none/married' category only one married early, marrying a minister in the same year as graduation. The others married between 1904 and 1909. The last member of the married group was a teacher who married in 1908, some eight years after graduation.

Obviously the selected benchmark years 1914, 1918 and 1924 may conceal some different marriage trends which would be revealed if a continuous scan of the General Council Albums had been made. What is perhaps more significant to note is the fluctuations in the pattern. This is probably due to the limitations of the data but it is also due to the change, however imperceptible in women's position in the labour market. Choice of career, the need to justify their higher education, the wish to have some experience in a career before settling into domesticity, all of these are factors to consider. In addition, for the majority of the women who became teachers, it was customary to give up their jobs on marriage and this is an important point to note when discussing career trends and the decision by women to remain in teaching and stay unmarried.

Thus Table 6.3 has revealed that of all the women graduates in the period 1894 - 1914, 393 out of 1,336 women or 29.4 per cent were recorded as married, having done so within a range of 10 - 15 years after graduation. The average for the four groups was 32.7 per cent. The most significant finding from table 6.3 however is the decreasing proportion of women graduates at Glasgow University in the period 1894-1914 who married and this is a direct result of their choice of teaching as a career. (17)

17. Over half the women medical graduates, 97 out of 192 or 50.5% were married. This is confirmed by Wendy Alexander's findings (op. cit.) whose study of medical graduates in the years 1898-1900 and 1908-1910 revealed that on average half the women married. Thus women medicals seem to have had a higher rate of marriage than other women graduates.

Logan C., op. cit. also found similar marriage patterns. In her early entrant group of 1893 only 5 out of 24 had married and in her 1907 group 44 out of 118 graduates had married (37.3 per cent) and only 26 out of her 92 teachers from the 1907 graduates had married. Although the basis of Logan's study was done on examination of an entrant group rather than graduate output the similarity of the findings are significant.

(3) Women at Aberdeen University

Some other indications of the pattern of career and marriage trends can be seen in T.Watt's Analysis in the Aberdeen University Roll of Graduates 1901 - 1925. (18) The same qualifications on the accuracy of General Council information applies to Aberdeen as well but the greater detail in the Roll of Graduates compared to any other Scottish University and the more systematic approach may offer a more exact picture of trends and developments. In addition Aberdeen's graduate population is a smaller entity than say Glasgow or Edinburgh and hence the task of locating graduates and maintaining contact may have been simpler. Out of a total of 1,627 women graduates in the Roll, 1101 or 67.7 per cent of the total women graduates were in the field of education. This compares with 777 or 26.7 per cent of men graduates. Breaking down this figure of 1101, Watt shows that in education the majority of women were schoolteachers. The school teaching group divided itself almost in half. The first group were school teachers still listed on the Roll as such and they amounted to 599 of the 1101 women (54.4%) of women in the education category. A further 435 women formed the second group as school teachers who had subsequently married. (39.5%) The remainder in 'education' were lecturers, Professors, retired and deceased. (6.1%)

18. Watt, T. op.cit. Unfortunately the analysis is done on an aggregate basis for 1901-25 and there is no annual breakdown.

The other occupations of women graduates were varied. The Church had no women representatives. Medicine had 185 or 11.4 per cent of total women graduates. Another 11 women were listed in Scientific occupations, only 3 in Law, 27 as Secretaries and 5 Journalists. The remaining categories included a 'Miscellaneous' category, 'no occupation but married' category and a 'deceased' category. The largest of these was the married group with no occupation listed which amounted to 176 or 10.8 per cent of the total. Dr Watt remarked in his introduction to the **Roll of Graduates** that it was agreed that the marriages of women graduates would have to be recorded as in many cases marriage was the outstanding if not indeed the only event in their career deemed by the graduates themselves to be worthy of mention! (19)

Therefore in career terms Aberdeen women graduates followed the typical pattern of the majority going into teaching. When the pattern of marriage is looked at for Aberdeen it can be noted that out of the 1,627 women listed in the **Roll of Graduates**, 748 or 50.0 per cent were recorded as married. (1,818 or 62.4 per cent of the 2,912 men graduates married in the same period from 1901 - 1925). Dividing the married women group by occupation Watt also shows, as already noted, that 434 women out of the 1,101 who were married were in fact school teachers. In medicine the other main field for graduate destination, 94 out of the 185 women medicals were married.

19. *ibid.* page xvi

Thus the career and marriage patterns of Aberdeen reinforce the picture already emerging from the Glasgow evidence namely that the majority of women entered the teaching profession. If anything the Aberdeen rate of 67.7 per cent of woman graduates as teachers confirms the under-representation of the Glasgow data. The marriage rate was apparently higher at Aberdeen than Glasgow although the time period under consideration was slightly different and there may have been some regional variations. In addition the Aberdeen figures for marriage are based on an aggregate calculation and take no account of annual changes which were noted at Glasgow.

(4) The oral evidence

The third piece of statistical evidence concerning graduates' destinations is the sample of informants selected for the compilation of oral evidence, selected it has already been noted fairly at random and certainly with no preconceived criteria of selecting so many teachers or doctors. The occupations of these women are noted in table 6.4 overleaf:-

Table 6.4 Career patterns - the oral evidence

occupation of informants	Number	Number married
lecturer	2	1
teacher	29	15
HMI	1	-
doctor	4	2
Secretary	4	2
Social work	3	1
Foreign Correspondent	1	-
Journalist	1	1
Writer	1	-
Stayed at home/ married immediately	3	3
(non Scottish grads)	4	2
-----		-----
	54	28

Although the sample is a small one the preponderance of women teachers is significant and confirms again the destination of women graduates. It is a sample which included women from St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow and also which included more women from the inter-war period. Significantly just over half the sample eventually married, higher than the Glasgow sample pre 1914 and roughly similar to the Aberdeen pattern.

Looking more closely at Table 6.4 the patterns of career choice will become more evident if we look more closely at some of the women's experiences. In the first category one of the lecturers was Muriel Smith, an Edinburgh graduate of 1912, who was appointed to the German Department at St Andrews University during the First World War and ran it singlehanded. There were no other

applicants and she insisted it be a war-time appointment but was re-appointed in 1919. Her early experiences were fraught with the difficulties of being ostracised because she was teaching the language of the 'enemy'. She did not marry until 1929:

'I never dreamt of trying to be a Professor's wife and lecture German at the same time and so I resigned and then they appointed three men to do what I had been doing' (20)

Thus she took time to justify her degree and have a career before marriage. The other university lecturer also at St Andrews was Dr Steele, who lectured in Chemistry .

The second category and by far the largest was teaching. The oral evidence reveals some interesting experiences. One woman , Mrs Corner who graduated from Edinburgh in 1918 had won a training college bursary from Moray House and followed a concurrent course of study thus qualifying as a teacher with what was known as Chapter III qualifications to teach primary children. After two years experience she applied for the next grade, Chapter V which enabled her to teach in secondary schools. One condition of her bursary was that she taught for four years. In fact she taught for ten years. For the first five she taught in a Boys' Technical School in Golspie which was a man's post but there were no male applicants to be had. She then went on to teach in Turiff Academy as Head of the

20. Mrs Duncan, op. cit.

English Department. She married when both her husband and herself were over thirty. They had known each other for many years but did not rush into marriage, having elderly parents to look after and also because they felt they needed a few years to save up. Perhaps however one of the reasons behind their delay in marriage was the clause in her contract with Aberdeenshire Education committee that her appointment ceased on her marriage. (21)

Several of the women teachers listed in Table 6.4 broadened their experience and opportunity by going to Teacher Training Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford which gave them a greater chance to teach in the independent schools like St Columba's in Kilmacolm. (22) One of the informants who went to Cambridge to do her training was Mrs Macnicol, an Edinburgh graduate of 1932, who applied for many jobs before being appointed to Carlisle and County High School for Girls. After three years there she came home to look after her parents and started to write. She later went out to India with her husband who was Professor of English at Madras Christian College. (23)

21. Mrs Corner, op.cit.

22. Miss Lakeman op. cit.

23. Mrs MacNicol op. cit. See The Authors and Writers Who's Who. Two other informants were also writers. Mrs Kate Bone combined a career in teaching with writing poems and Scottish prose. ('The scribbler and the printer' by Liz Taylor, Scotsman, 22/9 /1978).

Miss Marion C Lochhead went straight into her career as a writer and indeed became well-known for her Scottish writings, was a foundation member of the Scottish centre of PEN, a writers' group and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature in 1955.

There was then a feeling amongst teachers of the need to justify their degree and those who married worked for a few years before marriage, often to earn enough to set up home together. Mrs Grant whose experiences we learned about in an earlier chapter taught for four and a half years before she married in 1931. Her first year of teaching was very discontinuous as there were few jobs to be had and she could only manage to find a series of temporary appointments. For the first two years of her working she handed over her pay-packet to the house so had no means to set up home. Once she was engaged she kept a proportion of her salary to finance the setting up of her married home. Another Glasgow graduate also worked for four years before marrying although she was widowed early and went back to teaching. She summed up the value she placed on her degree as follows:

'Well, it was a way into a profession and it gave you a better salary than someone who had just gone to the Training College' (24)

The First World War had created many problems in the labour market. Many women did not marry who might have done. 'We probably would all have married if it hadn't been for the war', noted one graduate. (25) It therefore meant more women chose a career and it also meant a wider range of opportunities.

24. Mrs Grieve, op.cit.

25. Miss Osman, op.cit.

By the 1920s and 1930s the choice of teaching as a profession was not a straightforward one. The Education (Scotland) Act of 1918 had created a national salary scale for teachers which discriminated in favour of those teachers who were graduates. (26) This certainly explains the statistical trends seen in Chapter Three in the inter-war period when the number of Arts students increased dramatically in the 1920s. In addition in the inter-war period the status of graduate teachers against other certificated teachers dominated and in particular amendments to the regulations emphasised the graduate status of the male teacher. The 'non-graduate' courses survived but largely for primary teaching. There was also the problem of women being denied appointments after marriage and the general effect of economic depression on the teaching profession which limited appointments for new teachers and reduced salaries in the 1930s. The economic problems of the 1930s and its effect on the teaching profession diverted graduates to other occupations. (27)

Indeed for those women who did not choose teaching the evidence from Table 6.4 and the earlier Table 6.2 shows that there were other opportunities for women graduates but that they were still within certain limitations. One woman who trained for a year at Macadams Secretarial College in Edinburgh went to Rome to be secretary to an

26. It should also be noted that women were paid less than men teachers.

27. Cruikshanks, M., op. cit.

uncle in the Institute of Agriculture. After four winters abroad during war-time she returned to London and married but was widowed after two years. She saw her career as over:

'I think really my professional career ended more or less after my marriage. I did various things like visiting hospitals but nothing whatever to do with my university education and that was just how my life turned out. I was rather tied to my home conditions.' (28)

She had returned to look after elderly parents by which time she was over thirty and felt she had missed opportunities to develop her career.

Another Edinburgh graduate who went to London to seek employment found her degree a disadvantage. Signing on at an Employment agency she was told :

'Keep very quiet about having a degree. Don't mention the word. Because in England, not everybody has degrees and they think it is something superior and you will want a superior job. Take whatever you can get.' (29)

She did find a job but shortly after this became a paid official for the Scottish Youth Hostels Association.

Other informants chose to go into Social Work which was increasingly been seen as an area where the special skills of women could be utilised. Miss Margaret Rose took a post-graduate Diploma in Social Studies under Miss Nora Milnes at Edinburgh University. She later became an Inspector in the Children's Department at the Home Office. (30)

28. Mrs Lawson, op. cit.

29. Miss S Ogilvie, op.cit.

30. Miss Margaret Rose, op. cit.

The most well-known of the medical women interviewed was Dr Gertrude Herzfeld, an Edinburgh graduate of 1914. She had an outstanding career in medicine. She was the first woman to become a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh in 1920. She had always wanted to be a surgeon despite some feelings amongst her lecturers that it was impossible for a woman. Nonetheless she spent two and a half years after she qualified as the first woman house surgeon at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children and a year at Chalmers Hospital, Edinburgh where the expected opposition from men patients did not materialise. She went on to make a significant career as a surgeon.(31)

The other significant category in Table 6.4 is those who stayed at home and/or married. Two of these were Mrs Masson Gulland who married almost immediately after she graduated and began her 'career' in Oxford as the wife of a university 'don'. (32) Another was a Mrs Milligan who as Amy Lorrain Smith had been the daughter of Professor J Lorrain Smith who was Dean of the Medical Faculty at Edinburgh. She had been brought up in a very academic background and her mother who went into social work had

31. Dr Herzfeld followed her years as house surgeon at Chalmers Hospital with an appointment as Honorary Assistant House Surgeon at the Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh until 1925, surgeon at the Edinburgh Hospital for Women and Children besides lecturing at Edinburgh University on the Diseases of Children. She was a president of the Scottish Eastern Association of the Medical Women's Federation, President of the Soroptimist Club, Edinburgh and president of the Edinburgh Association of University Women. (Scottish Biographies, 1938)

32. Mrs Masson Gulland, op. cit.

attended some of the EAUEW classes. Mrs. Milligan had married a lawyer immediately on graduation in 1923. Her experience at university had been a very social one and was caught up in visits to the Palais like Mrs Masson Gulland. Her social circle she recalled was involved around a group of young lawyers and CA's. At the end of her third year she got engaged and although she did not take honours she took a fourth year before graduating with an Ordinary MA in 1922. Although she married early she later took a Diploma in Social Studies and served on the Old People's Welfare Council in Edinburgh and on the Edinburgh Family Planning Committee. (33)

Thus from the oral evidence a picture of diverse career patterns emerges . Some women did combine marriage with a career, for example, as an author or took later training which involved them in voluntary social work. Those who did not marry certainly followed their chosen careers and in the case of some , with notable achievement.

Public Life

So far we have looked at three pieces of evidence which in different ways have shown the combination of career and marriage as destinations of women graduates. There was however a third occupation for women graduates , one which could be combined with career or marriage. This was involvement in public life be it at a voluntary, professional or political level.

33. Mrs Amy Milligan, series of discussions & interview, 10/9/1979

It was significant that the experiences of the suffrage campaign were utilised by women in the 1920s and 1930s. The constitutional battle to obtain the vote had had a certain educational value as Baroness Stocks, herself a veteran of the suffrage days noted:

'...it could be noted that the women who had once played their part in the suffrage agitation were now playing their part on education committees, borough councils, magisterial benches, Women's Institutes, League of Nations Union branches, thus reflecting in British public life the lesson they had learned in the democratic agitation which made them voters.' (34)

However it was not only former suffragists who participated in these activities. A significant proportion of women graduates were also involved on various committees and women's organisations. Some were married and used these associations as part of a voluntary or philanthropic interest. Others harnessed their careers as doctors or educationists, for example, to that of being members, even committee members or giving papers or talks to learned bodies and women's associations. Therefore although the destination of women graduates was largely dictated by their choice between career and marriage this third avenue of activity was often attractive to them and it was one which could acceptably be combined with career or marriage.

34. Kamm. J, Rapiers and Battleaxes (1966), page 10

The forerunner of this public activity by women graduates and others was in fact the contribution made by women to the First World War relief effort which proved that women were capable of doing many areas of work and public duties previously thought of as 'male-only'.

The most famous contribution was that by Dr Elsie Inglis whose name has already been mentioned in connection with the NUWSS in Scotland. The NUWSS set up a sub-committee to look into support for the war effort out of which came the Scottish Women's Hospitals. She became the main pioneer and coordinator of the Scottish Women's Hospitals Units which, despite official rejection, went out as voluntary groups to set up field hospitals on the war fronts. Elsie Inglis had already stamped her identity on the medical care of women and children in Edinburgh by setting up a Hospice in the High Street for women and children. She had been a lecturer in gynaecology at the Medical College for Women and had also worked at Bruntsfield Hospital.(35) Around Dr Inglis were a group of medical graduates including Katherine MacPhail, Isabel Emslie (Mrs Hutton), Annie Louise McIlroy, Agnes Forbes Blackadder, Lilian Chesney and Joan K Rose, to name only a few.(36) Many other graduates went out as VAD's and with the Red Cross.

35. See Margot Lawrence, *passim*.

36. See St Andrews Roll of Honour and Service, Glasgow Roll of Honour, and Edinburgh Roll of Honour. Isabel Emslie was Isabel Hutton who wrote Memories of a Doctor in War And Peace. (1960) Katherine MacPhail worked for many years in Yugoslavia after the war being founder and medical superintendent of the Anglo-Yugoslav Children's Hospital.

Of all women doctors Elsie Inglis perhaps above all made the most outstanding contribution to the cause of women by her determination and courage and serves to typify the kind of contribution made especially by women doctors in the First World War. Her early death in 1917 as a result of illness during her work on the Serbian front made her a national heroine. (37)

At the end of the war, the response of women in Scotland to the passing of the Representation of the People Act (1918) was immediate. Now that the vote had been won, at least for those over thirty, women sought, not only to increase their participation in local affairs and representation on local government but also to educate themselves about their role as 'citizens'. The Society for Equal Citizenship had already been in existence to promote the franchise and reforms in the wider spheres of local government and politics. The setting up of Women Citizens Associations in major towns and cities in Scotland was the clearest example of women developing the ideas and aspirations which the suffrage campaign had inspired.

The objects for example of the Edinburgh branch of the Women Citizens Association set up on 9th May 1918 were clear. They aimed firstly to provide an organisation for

37. Glasgow Herald 4/8/1964, Scotsman, 22/8/1964

women which would promote the study of an extensive range of contemporary issues. Secondly, they aimed to secure adequate representation of women in local administration and thirdly to work towards reforms which would secure equality for women in terms of their freedom, their status and opportunities. (38) The Women Citizens Associations in Edinburgh and elsewhere attracted a great amount of interest and membership numbers were high. (39) The range of activities as suggested by the aims outlined above were diverse. They were not only concerned with their role as citizens but as women in society. Examination of the annual syllabi of the Edinburgh Women Citizens Association reveals concern with, for example, education, social welfare, housing and such problems as the sex differential in teaching whereby men had to be graduates to teach but women could be primary teachers after two years training. They formed a Parliamentary Study Circle and in their annual reports noted quite specifically those women who served on local government, education committees or who were Justices of the Peace. Most significant to the present discussion was the identification of graduates on the membership lists with an asterisk.(40) Although much more work needs to be done to research the personnel behind these Women Citizens Associations it is quite clear

38. Edinburgh Women Citizens Association Souvenir of Coming of Age 1918-1939.

39. Edinburgh Women Citizens Association. Annual Reports.

40. Given the previous discussion of the role of pioneers in the admission of women to universities and their appearance in other campaigns such as the suffrage one, it will be no surprise to learn that two of the honorary Vice-presidents of the EWCA were Sarah S Mair and Louisa Lumsden.

that a significant proportion of women graduates played a part and that the association set great store by their status. It was one way for them to justify their university education. In addition the whole network of women's organisations requires to be investigated because it is quite apparent even from a cursory glance that there was consider overlap of members in, for example, the Women Citizens in Edinburgh, the Soroptomist Club , the Edinburgh Association of University Women, the Edinburgh Social Union etc. There was an element within these groups of continuation of the traditions of the middle class-role in philanthropic and charitable work but the whole image was much more geared to the advancement of women in society. There were attempts to tone down this image by introducing a social element into the activities of the Women Citizens. It could indeed be seen as an attempt to reconcile the new professional role they wished to strive for with the more traditional role of following feminine pursuits. Thus we find social meetings concerned with Art, whist drives, cards, country dancing and the like.(41)

However at national level the Annual Conference of the Scottish Council of Women Citizens Associations did address themselves to crucial questions of the day about women in society and their changing conditions. There was also close cooperation with other women's groups including

41. Edinburgh Women Citizens, Annual Reports, passim.

the Women's International League, the WEA, and the National Council of Women.

In all of this then whether it was the pioneering courageous efforts of woman doctors in war-time or in the structures of women's organisations in the inter-war period, women graduates played a role and one which deserves to be highlighted. The Women Citizens was only one of many organisations which allowed them to have a voice in local affairs and participation in an organisation which was accepted and respected in public life.

Women graduates : some achievements

We have seen in a general way the pattern of career and marriage trends revealed by the statistical analysis and we have also noted some of the experiences of women interviews as part of the oral history study. While it would be impossible to highlight all the outstanding achievements of women graduates and indeed to chart their full career developments it would not be fitting to close this narrative without some acknowledgment of some of the achievements and outstanding careers both in Scotland and elsewhere, in science, medicine, the arts and law. Indeed any acknowledgment of attainments is in some way a fitting tribute to the pioneers who had created the opportunities for the next generations of women. (42)

42. See also biographical notes in Appendix six.

Medicine and Science

The contribution of medical women has already been seen through their pioneering work in the Scottish Women's Hospitals when Dr Elsie Inglis spearheaded the war work in Serbia. Dr Sophia Jex-Blake , of course, although a non-graduate of a Scottish university made a substantial contribution to the medical education of women and to the health care of women and children.

One of the most outstanding medical women was Dame Annie Louise McIlroy (MBChB MD DSc) who graduated from Glasgow University in 1898 and was the first woman to receive the DSc at Glasgow University in 1910. In her later career she was a specialist in obstetrics and gynaecology. Aberdeen's most successful woman doctor was Dr Mary Esselmont. As well as being well-known locally as a GP she was the first woman President of the Student Representative Committee, first woman on the University Court, first woman chairman of the Scottish Council of the BMA and first woman president of the Aberdeen Liberal Association. (43) In Dundee, Dr Elizabeth Bryson was also well-known.(44) Dundee and Aberdeen also produced two interesting 'firsts' . Professor Margaret Fairlie (MBChB St Andrews 1915) took the university chair in 1940 at the advanced Medical School. Prior to this Doris Livingston Mackinnon, a protozoologist and Aberdeen graduate of 1906

43. Press & Journal, 7/4/1980

44. Bryson , E., op.cit.

succeeded to the Chair at King's College, Cambridge in 1927 believed to have been the first woman Professor in Great Britain. (45)

This brief mention of some of the outstanding medical women reveals some interesting features. It is obvious that medical women specialised in fields like the care of women and children, a previously neglected area. It was an area which seemed appropriate for women allowing them the use of their so called feminine skills required in this area of health care. It was also a reflection of lack of opportunities in the mainstream health care areas. Women medicals probably took jobs in the less prestigious sectors and witnessed inequalities in appointments and opportunities and this raises the fact that equal education did not imply equality of opportunity. Although it has to be said that gynaecology and obstetrics were subjects where male doctors had established a dominance and this area began to be invaded by medical women. It was however a gradual process begun in the special Hospitals for women and children before permeating the general hospitals.

The Arts

While the area of medicine had always been fraught with tensions and battles to secure equality, in the field of the arts it was possible for women to be achievers, the most notable of whom were novelists and poetesses. For

45. Meredith, A. F. 'Of Learned Ladies', op.cit.

example, Catherine Gavin, Nan Shepherd, Dorothy Dunnett, Florence Marion McNeill can be mentioned as well as those women who were mentioned in the oral evidence, Kate Bone, Eona Macnicol and Marian Lochhead. (46)

Law and theology

Although law and theology were not mainstream studies of women students it did attract some. Women took Bachelor of Divinity degrees but of course have only recently been admitted to the pulpit. One known exception was Vera Findlay who was the first woman to have a pulpit when she was ordained in 1928 to the charge of Partick Congregational Church. (47) Both Mildred Dobson and Frances Melville took the degree of BD whilst wardens of University Hall, St Andrews.

Law also had a low female participation although there were women in the law faculties by the inter-war period and some of them had taken secretarial appointments or government jobs. One outstanding woman in law who deserves a mention is Dame Margaret Kidd who in 1923 became the first woman advocate in Scotland and later became the first woman to be King's Counsel in 1948. (48) One of the earliest women solicitors to practise was Miss Eveline MacLaren LLB who joined her father's firm, Duncan Smith & MacLaren. She was not allowed to become a partner because she was a woman. (49)

46. See footnote 23 of this chapter.

47. Glasgow Herald, 12/1/1976

48. Noted from BBC Radio Scotland programme, 19/12/1979

49. The Scotsman, 19/11/1987.

Education

In any assessment of the careers of women graduates it is a useful postscript to mention briefly the inroads which women made into the universities themselves. While there were few women professors, there were women who lectured at the universities (or at the teacher training colleges) or were assistants in departments, some who were research scholars and others who took administrative posts. Academic women were perhaps the ultimate sign of the advance of women in the professions but the advance was fairly limited and even today remains so.

One of the most outstanding of these women I would suggest was Frances Melville.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Her achievements for the cause of women and her contribution to the Universities were recognised in 1927 when she became the first Scottish woman graduate to receive the Honorary degree of LL.D. from Glasgow University and received an OBE on her retirement from QMC in 1935. She moved through the whole campaign for the improvement of women's position in society and encompassed university education, a career as lecturer, warden and College Mistress as well as being an ardent suffragist. It is indeed striking that the pioneer women of the 1890s filled several university places including amongst others Miss Mildred Dobson and Miss Janet Spens, both early graduates.

50. See Appendix 6

Other women graduates achieved success through their husband's career . One example was Mary Ethel Alison Reid who married Hector Hetherington (later Sir) in 1914. Sir Hector Hetherington was Principal at Glasgow University and as such his wife was able to fulfil her role with a clearer insight of university life. (51) Another was Jenny Lee who married the politician Aneurin Bevan although she did have an eminent political career in her own right when she became the Member of Parliament for North Lanark in 1929 at the age of 24. (52) Wilhelmina Anderson a St Andrews graduate married the socialist Edwin Muir. (53) These are just a few examples of some women who became more prominent after their marriage.

Careers, Marriage and Public life: some conclusions

While it has been easy to highlight the famous or outstanding women graduates and in doing so identify some of the facets of their achievements there is a need to get beyond the eminent pioneers to find those less prominent women whose experience was more common to the majority and to some extent the weaving together of the different strands of evidence in this chapter has aimed to provide a little more insight into the more general career and marriage trends.

51. Illingworth, Sir Charles , University Statesman. Sir Hector Hetherington 1888-1965 (1971)

52. Lee, Jennie, *op.cit.* and Sunday Standard, 1/11/1981

53. Muir, Willa Belonging. A Memoir (1968)

It has been also the intention in this chapter to answer the question of what women did with their university degrees and indeed within this what careers were acceptable. It is certainly clear that teaching answered both these questions.

Various groups of women have been looked at and as well as the statistical evidence some experiences and biographical details have also been outlined to indicate the overall career and marriage trends of women graduates. Firstly, in the 1890s the complexities of adjustment to full-time higher education revealed a residue of Victorian ideals about the role which university classes might play in a middle-class upbringing, either seen as a finishing school for young ladies or as part of a cultural education. The 1890s also saw the blossoming of pioneer women in the medical field who went on in later life to have successful careers. The clearest pattern and trend is that of teaching as the main destination and from 1905 the growth in the number of women teachers has already been noted.⁽⁵⁴⁾ It is certainly the main conclusion that the majority of women entered the teaching profession and much of this had to do with the external changes carried out in the system of teacher-training in Scotland. Other fields

54. Corr, H. *op.cit.* Humes & Paterson

did open up but within certain boundaries.(55) The other notable feature of women graduates is that many of those who did achieve eminence remained single.

Secondly, the marriage pattern has been shown to have been complex and varied. From the Glasgow evidence it appears that many women delayed marriage or did not marry at all. The Aberdeen information is less satisfactory because of its failure to take into account the changes over time. The oral evidence reflected the findings about lower rate of marriage and delayed marriages. Certainly the medical women often managed to achieve career and marriage in a way which was not only a reflection of their determination but also a reflection of the opportunities denied to the teaching profession. Career therefore was often an interlude between university and marriage, for others it was a clear alternative to marriage. It is certainly an area of study which demands much wider research which would give a fascinating insight into the position of women in society in Scotland in the first half of the twentieth century.

55. Gordon, A.M. 'The after careers of university educated women' Nineteenth Century, vol 37,1895. She suggested from the standpoint of the late 1890s that there was an enlargement of the range of careers within the existing spheres rather than opening into new spheres of work.

The third point of significance is the extent to which women graduates involved themselves in public life. While there were degrees of involvement this outlet for educated women was a crucial expression of women's achievements and indeed desire for more gains. The 19th century values of voluntary work and philanthropy worked together with the 20th century concerns for the welfare state and the position of women to provide women with new areas of public activities.

Conclusions

The historical account in the preceding chapters of this thesis has provided an insight into the many facets of the history of the movement for the higher education of women in Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and has shown that university education for women was very much more than a reform to improve existing standards. The idea of university education for women was an innovation and its subsequent provision was a major departure from the structure of university education as it was in the mid-nineteenth century. It was also a major achievement within the general women's movement of the late nineteenth century and provided women with one of several focal points for action and response. Further the admission of women to the Scottish Universities was in the vanguard of the improvement of educational opportunities available to women following as it did the opening of the Universities of London and Manchester to women and pre-empting the much later developments giving women degrees at Oxford and Cambridge. Indeed this thesis has emphasised the Scottish dimension of the women's campaign to gain access to university highlighting in its own right the extensive developments in higher education for women in Scotland and the tremendous influence which the Scottish women pioneers had in the Scottish context and also to the national movement.

This concluding assessment of the patterns and trends of the development and establishment of university education for women in Scotland will consider four dominant themes which have run throughout the preceding narrative. Although they will be considered separately it is important to recognise that they were closely interlinked and to note the elements of contradiction and similarity.

Integration v Separation: the model of university education for women

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the achievement of university education for women to first consider is its form and structure. As common with the patterns of development in the rest of Britain and America, the Scottish Universities and the campaigners for reform had to address themselves to one key issue. As we have seen this was the debate over the question of whether women's education should be apart from men in a 'separate' female sphere either offering the same level of education or some diluted version more suited to women's nature or, whether it should be co-educational with the same courses and examinations.

The Scottish evidence has shown how complex the realities of the debate were, especially in the working out of solutions to the question. We have seen through the women's educational associations and the LLA diploma that there was from the 1860s some form of connection with the

Scottish Universities. Although excluded from both the Arts and medical faculties, with the encouragement and assistance of enlightened university professors, the women pioneers were in contact with the universities through the local examination scheme, through the various higher certificates of proficiency offered to women of the Association classes and through William Knight's LLA scheme; a bridge had been formed between the women on the outside and the university institutions. While in the early years the women pioneers ran their organisations largely within their own female sphere, it was male lecturers and professors who instructed the women. Therefore in the period prior to 1892 'separation' of women's higher education was more of a practical compromise than an ideological stand.

The bridge between the women and the universities was under threat for a time from the confrontation and acrimony of the medical women's campaign but the overall demonstration effect of the women's ability to cope with university level education confirmed the need for some form of provision. While there were some who suggested a separate female college or national centre for women, the majority were campaigning in the 1870s and 1880s for 'integration', reflecting the particular liberal and 'democratic' attitude to education which by tradition was found in Scotland.

The tendency to favour the 'integration' approach was amply demonstrated by the passing of the Universities (Scotland) Act 1889 and its subsequent ordinances which guaranteed university education for women. The form that this should take brought the 'integration' discussion to the forefront. As we have seen there were exceptions to the extent of achievement of formal integration and variations in the style of integration which have to be emphasised; in particular the exception of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow has to be noted. This was a woman's college created as we have seen out of the ladies' educational classes in Glasgow which aspired to some Girtonian ideal of corporate academic and social life and headed by a campaigning pioneer. Queen Margaret College epitomised the debate over the 'separate v equal' provision of university education for women. On the one hand it was an exclusive female sphere but it could not operate on the fringes of Scottish University life once the Ordinances admitting women were passed. Its solution was to be formally integrated as part of Glasgow University but by choice to operate as a separate unit under Miss Galloway and later Miss Melville. This 'separate' operation was diluted over the years as the practicalities demanded more space and integration of teaching and as women students themselves gravitated towards the main university environs. At Aberdeen, St Andrews and Edinburgh Universities, mixed classes demonstrated the effectiveness of the 'integration' policy. Only the medical women at Edinburgh separated in

their own medical schools were victims of the Jex-Blake controversy and the latent suspicions of medical women which survived but this too was eliminated in 1916.

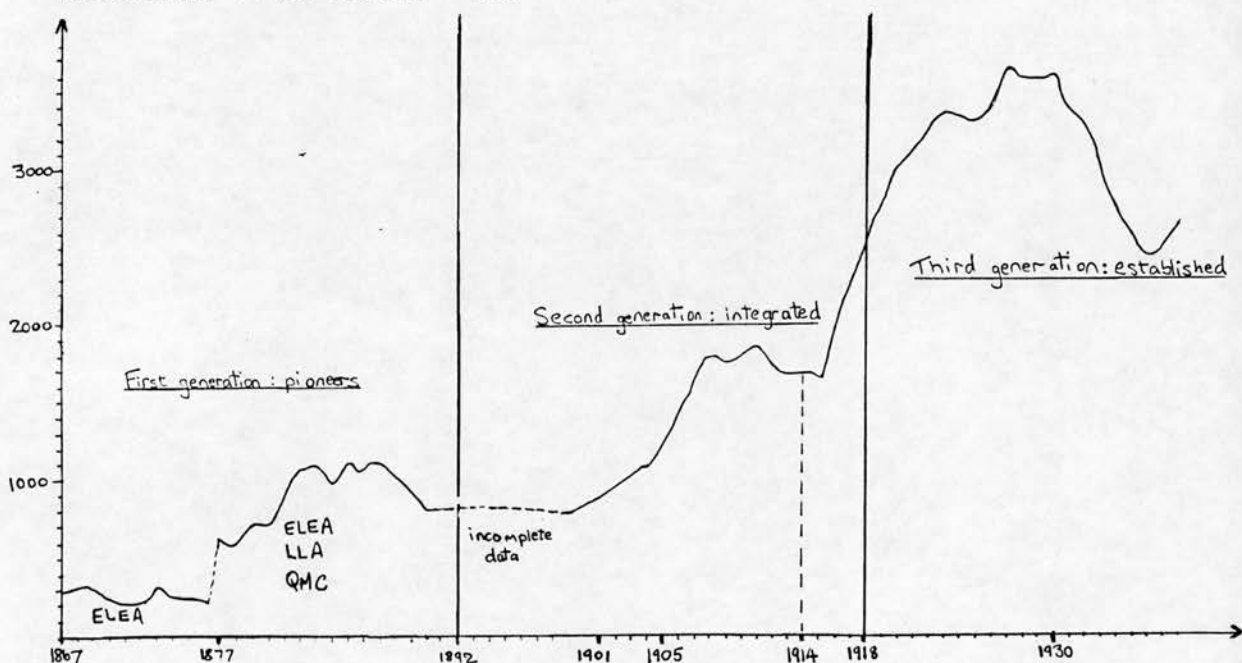
Where the complexities and contradictions of the 'integration' issue were more evident is in the way in which the informal patterns of integration of women students were achieved. Clearly two main points have emerged. The first one is precedence. Where the pre-1892 structures of women's university education were strongest as in the case of Glasgow and Edinburgh it appears from the evidence that informal integration of women students into university life took longer to achieve. This was illustrated by the survival of the old structures into the new era of the 1890s. These old structures, like the women's debating societies, became the roots of the new corporate social life for women students but it was a prime example of the 'separate but equal' approach worked out in the informal setting. Where the pre-1892 structures had been less successful and there was therefore no tradition of separation to fall back on or, where in the case of St Andrews the successful LLA scheme pushed the candidates into their own localities to study for the examinations, then the process of informal integration seemed to be more easily achieved. Yet even when the mixing of men and women students together seemed to be easier to achieve, the idea of a separate sphere for women students remained. For example, there were separate entrances for men and women at the Dundee students' union.

New social structures, then, like the women's unions, also reflected the preference for a separate sphere for women and this really suggests the second main theme of the informal integration procedures, namely choice. It can be seen quite clearly that once the main battle for university admission had been won that the women themselves chose to a large extent to remain in separate spheres. Part of this choice was dictated by the practicalities of using existing structures and the influence of the pioneers but there was also an element of decision-making by the new women students of the 1890s to accept what had been achieved without striving for further equality and also plainly because they felt more comfortable in their own group. Therefore the formal integration of women students saw the working out of the policy of equal education for women as they attended the same classes and sat the same examinations but the informal levels of this process saw a preference for 'separate but equal' which was gradually diluted through mixed societies and social functions.

Three generations of pioneers

Looking at the totality of the experience of 'university women' over the seventy years and more under consideration from 1867 to 1939, the significance of the strong periodisation of patterns and trends and of the chronology of change which affected the recruitment of women into the

various forms of university education reveals a pattern of generational linkages which need to be highlighted. In the periods of change and development from the 1860s to 1939, generations or cohorts of women emerged whose common experiences and characteristics shaped the development of university education for women in Scotland. To begin to formulate some idea of the characteristics of the women who campaigned for, or experienced, university education the information has been presented below in graphical form, illustrating firstly the number of women known to have been attending local educational associations or taking the LLA Diploma from St Andrews and, secondly the number of matriculated women students in Scotland from 1892. (1)



1. This provides an overview of the position of women in higher education although it excludes women who attended the ALEA classes whose details are not available, students from teacher-training colleges and other colleges but includes in the post 1905 period a fair number of women who attended concurrent courses at college and university.

Superimposed on this linear evidence is the division of the time axis into the three periods already outlined. These three periods of time however go beyond simple descriptions of numerical position or chronological information. What we see are three generations of women in higher or university education. The first generation were the pioneers and campaigners for the provision of higher and university education. The second generation were those women of the post-1892 era who were pioneers of university education within the institutional structure rather than from without. After 1918 the third generation emerged as the established group, reflecting the general acceptance of women in university life. (2)

The first generation were women who were aware of their pioneer status and the battles they faced and were also aware that the changes they were seeking would challenge the traditional female sphere. This first generation were composed of middle-class spinsters with feminist leanings, professors' wives, middle and upper-class married women who dabbled in reforming activities, young dilettantes and young women scholars; and lastly, this first generation harnessed to their group a significant minority of enlightened male educational reformers and university professors who were on the periphery of the organisations and associations.

2. Solomon, B., In the Company of Educated Women. A History of Women and Higher Education in America, (1985). She identified a similar three generation pattern in America.

The medical women under the leadership of Sophia Jex-Blake were the most strident of this first generation, challenging the restrictions placed on the traditional female sphere and the 'ideal of womanhood'. The medical women created and perpetuated the stereotype of the 'battling', determined woman which was greater than any 'blue-stocking' image of the Associations' student. Indeed the ELEA and the other ladies' educational associations were careful to a fault about their respectable image, chaperoning their meetings and conducting its operations on strict business procedures. The stereotype image of the medical women did the ELEA and other associations some favours, diverting attention away from their own fairly innovative developments and making the educational associations much more acceptable to the university authorities. However, the medical campaign also raised the whole general level of public awareness about the inequalities and injustices of women's higher education. Whatever the confines of their operations, these first generation pioneers, whether creating or experiencing the early structures of university education for women demonstrated effectively the ability of women to cope with that level of education.

Many of the women in this first generation went on to become heroines to the second generation of women as 'mentors' or 'elder stateswomen' nurturing and encouraging the seeds of continuity of the pre-1892 era. The second

generation were composed of the breed of 'new women', still pioneering but within the university environs rather than from without. This group did include some mature students, especially in the decade of the 1890s, who might have missed out on the earlier Associations' activities. It was still largely a middle-class group made up of the post school group in the average age range of 17 to 19 years who aspired to the profession of medicine, prospective school-teachers or who were attending university classes out of interest. This was the period of greatest achievement for women within the universities as they were integrated and accepted into the academic community and as they created their own identity within it. The growth in the numbers of women in this second generation group is a significant reflection of the general acceptance of university education for women, a reflection of the widening access to universities through the Carnegie Grant scheme and through the policies of educational authorities linking vocational training of teachers more closely to the academic teaching of universities.

After the watershed of the First World War, out of the decades of the 1920s and 1930s emerged the third generation of women students who discarded the 'pioneer' image of 'university women' and replaced it with a breed of university women who 'took it for granted' and experienced a natural progression from school through to university or college. This third generation we have seen,

were more relaxed, less concerned with their status as women students, with a more social outlook, attending dances, enjoying a position of some strength at least in numerical terms within many of the Arts faculties. However this was a generation which we have seen from the oral evidence was more affected by the social repercussions of 'class' - even when their social composition was still largely middle-class but with a broader base - and their university experience was not necessarily a unifying factor within their own peer group. Indeed this diversity of experience has been revealed as one of the key aspects of university life in the inter-war period.

The common factor across these three generations of women students was that, despite their differences of experience and motivation, they were linked together by the common bond of university experience. Continuity was provided between the generations by individuals who as elderly 'mentors' created the links to the next generation; for example, holding honorary positions in the ongoing women's associations or on the board of the new private schools for girls, or as wardens to the women's halls of residence. Continuity was also provided by the foundation of the structures of student social life like the Womens' Unions and various societies.

Perhaps however the most significant aspect of the generational pattern and the factor of continuity over time is that of extended family networks as mechanisms of self-recruitment to university admission. This is not to

examine the theory that sons and daughters of professional people followed their parent into the same profession although this was the case in some instances, but to look more closely at each of the three generations of women students and how they might relate to each other.

It has already been apparent from the oral evidence that the motivations influencing some women to attend university were rooted in family connections and experiences of university and the influence of maiden aunts or mothers must have been crucial in determining the future education of female family members. Where there was no family tradition of higher education the schoolteacher or headmaster became a more influential figure. Bearing in mind the graphical illustration already presented, one can begin to see the influence which family relationships, especially female ones, might have in determining one of the influencing factors in the generational and recruitment patterns of women students.(3) In a typical but hypothetical Victorian family of the 1870s one might picture a daughter aged twenty in 1870 attending some ladies' educational association classes, marrying and producing a daughter who in turn might enter the university gates in 1892. This 'second generation' might have been influenced by her mother's experience or that of a maiden aunt. If she were in turn to marry and have a family or to have nieces growing up in the early 1920s

3. See Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, 'The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth Century America', *Signs* I, vol 1, no 1, (Autumn 1975), for the influence of female relationships.

then one can see how variations on these types of family connections might shape and determine the influences and motivations of the generations of university women. Shared experiences and the passing on of the knowledge of educational opportunities for women were crucial in this generation pattern. The influence of uncles, brothers and fathers while present seems to have had a more diluted effect than that of female family members.

Thus in this brief hypothetical outline we see how extended family networks could influence the continuity of the generational linkages. It has to be said of course that in each generation phase new members would join who had no previous generation contact. Some second generation members would be experiencing higher education for the first-time with only a vague knowledge of pioneers of the educational or medical campaigns although their mothers may have had spurned aspirations or been pupil teachers or governesses. The members of the second generation would in turn create their own tradition for the next generation. Third generation women entering the university circle for the first time in their family network would also create new traditions. Across the three generations there were obviously exceptions and variations and the timing of each individual's experience would vary the periodisation. The strongest feature of this generational linkage, however, is the role of family relationships, especially female ones, in providing and establishing the tradition of university education.

Networks and women's culture

Family networks were not the only important catalyst motivating and inspiring women across the three defined generations. The role of the wider female network through societies and reform groups was also substantial in creating an awareness of the needs and demands for change in higher education. The pioneering personalities of the first generation were an important group of women who through their varied interests created an important network of mutual support and communication. The creators of the ladies' educational associations spread their interests beyond that of education and for example, Mrs Crudelius was active in the franchise movement and Louisa Stevenson participated in both the ELEA and the medical campaign. Women like them created a certain amount of cohesion through their overlapping activities and in turn created a common bond through which the beginnings of a 'woman's movement' could develop. As well as their broader interests creating a loose alliance of women with a common cause they also, as already noted, became 'role models' for the next generation. It is highly significant to find so many of the pre-1892 pioneers sustaining their levels of influence through their positions, honorary and otherwise, as wardens to halls of residence, mistresses of Queen Margaret College and office-bearers in women's societies and associations. These networks of individuals therefore created a common bond of interest or group identity through their shared experience.

These networks of pioneers, women students or graduates were crucial in the development of a particular women's identity or 'culture' within the universities. The theme of 'separate but equal' is again important in explaining the attitudes and motivations of university women and their role within the general women's movement. The first generation pioneers in their activities and rhetoric were active in the promotion of the cause of women. Their petitions and memorials and their campaigns were all indicative of a highly political awareness with a strong feminist profile.

The second generation students also shared common experiences and created their own networks through their social activities both in and out of the universities. The Scottish Universities of the 1890s for example, were small enough to help promote these networks of women students. University admission in 1892 fostered a group who followed rather than led the national movement; they reflected the women's questions of the day in the setting up of their suffrage societies and debating societies rather than initiating any new campaign. Their university societies were not aggressive or militant. Their Women's Unions and committees were duplicate social structures to that of the men reflecting a need to emulate the men in order to establish their position within the universities. There was therefore a strong sense of consciousness but not in an aggressive way.

Where there was active participation in women's issues it was down to the role of individuals. Not all members of the women's movement were university-educated but it is significant to note that women like Elsie Inglis, Frances Melville, Chrystal MacMillan and many others made notable inroads into areas of male dominance. They were the challengers who argued their case for the franchise in the House of Lords, who led the new associations and organisations founded for women in the inter-war period and they were the women who in the example of their own careers gave visible justification of their university education.

By the third generation of women students after 1918 the university world was larger and more anonymous. This was the group of women who merged more closely into the male arena and in a sense lost much of their separate identity. There was still however a strong group identity. The oral evidence has already revealed through the snowball sampling the way in which the links of shared university experience could create its own local networks of women graduates either meeting informally through social occasions, through their professional activities as teachers or doctors or even extending from this to the formal Associations of University Women which began largely after 1918. As graduates, university women did create their own identity in these associations and it gave them a forum to participate in the wider debates on women's position in society. They became more self-

assertive and confident about public activities through their university education. It is significant that there even was such a body as the Association of University Women, indicating the tradition of opting for a separate female sphere, even in the graduate world. There was indeed no equivalent male graduate group. The networks relationships which might be revealed by the membership patterns of the Women Citizens' Associations and the Soroptimist Clubs would also be indicative of a new role for educated professional women in society.

It can be suggested from the strands of evidence available that these networks of educated women began to define areas where a separate female public sphere could and was established which 'helped mobilise women and gained political leverage in the larger society.' (4) Once the vote was won for women in 1918 there seems to have been a loss of momentum once a certain level of equality had been achieved.

4. Freedman, Estelle, 'Separatism as strategy: female institution building and American Feminism, 1870-1930', *Feminist Studies*, 5, no 3 (Fall 1979), page 513. She suggests that women's culture can be integral to feminist politics, acting as a separate supportive community to activists and reformers in the women's movement. She sees the decline of these supports as largely the explanation of the decline of American feminism after 1920. She speaks of the disintegration of the "self-consciously female community...just as the 'new women' were attempting to assimilate into male-dominated institutions." (page 514). This seems to have certain parallels with the present discussion and would be an interesting avenue of research. See also Rosenberg, Rosalind, Beyond Separate Spheres. Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism. (1982)

Careers

The quantitative data has shown that a significant number of women entered the universities from 1892, the trends and patterns revealing a preponderance of entrants in the Arts faculties and a significant output of women graduates who went into the teaching profession. The pace of change was dictated by the external effects of the Carnegie Trust aid to students in 1901, by the change in regulations governing teacher-training which through the Provincial Committees in 1905 linked the training of teachers more closely to that of the university and by the watershed of the First World War which raised the numerical position of women to a new plateau from where they could consolidate their position in the 1920s and 1930s. The dominance of the Arts faculties by women in this period and the obvious strong correlation to the recruitment of teachers is a unique Scottish dimension which largely accounts for the high numbers of women graduates who qualified in the period 1893-1914 alone. Indeed the method of training teachers in Scotland through the concurrent or consecutive systems linked to university teaching was an important 'pull' factor in the number of women attending the Scottish Universities and the statistics bare this out. The opening of the medical profession to women was also an important 'pull' factor attracting women to the universities, where they could find a career with 'caring' skills so frequently espoused as a feminine virtue.

Women graduates undoubtedly gained more status through their university education and subsequent careers. Many of the women who might previously have gone to teacher-training college chose to receive a university education and therefore enhanced their own status within their own occupation. Choice of occupation and career has been shown to have been still within limitations and indeed the suggestion that women widened their own prospects within existing spheres rather than venturing into new areas is a valid one. The women who became eminent ambassadors of their professions in medicine, teaching, and to a lesser extent law, were in a minority although by the 1920s and 1930s an increasing one. The inroads made into the universities by women academics were also limited; although there were women employed by the universities as librarians, departmental assistants, wardens, and occasionally lecturers, they were in a minority and are still so today. The appointment of lady advisers to women students is in itself also indicative of the need to create an area of separate concern for women students which emphasised their difference from their male counterparts. Even the need to separately record the marriages of 'female graduates' reflects the differentiation between men and women students.

Perhaps one of the limiting factors which determined the career progress of women graduates was the choice they had to make between career and marriage. This thesis has shown that it appeared that women graduates married later and to

a lesser extent than the rest of the population. Although these findings were based on limited data it does suggest that the choice between career and marriage created tensions and conflict which are still a part of the choices made by women today. While women who had the academic ability to go to university and the financial support to do so received the benefits of equal education it in no way implied equal opportunities in the labour market. The perpetuation of a spinster teaching profession through the controls on married women is one limiting factor to the progress of women which should be highlighted.

In conclusion, through the discussion on the key themes of type of university education for women, the identification of the participants in it, the development of a separate women's culture within the universities and the career patterns of graduates, it has become apparent that the development of university education for women in Scotland was a crucial landmark for the improvement of the status of women in general. Indeed, the Scottish Universities incorporated and legitimized the new views about women's place in society in the twentieth century. The women in turn accepted the male-dominated institutions for what they were and integrated into them without any great opposition. The history of university women has been, therefore, a history of tensions, conflicts and responses over time to demands for the rectification of the exclusion of women from university education. It has been

a study of a group of women and a study of the relationships of these women to each other and to the universities and society. Their history has enhanced our understanding of middle-class values, perceptions and experiences. Their history has also located their lives within the context of struggle for equality which shaped the wider women's movement .

Appendix to Chapter 3

The following section contains a series of statistical tables upon which the commentary in Chapter 3 is based. The sources used are listed in the Bibliography section and include the Annual Statistical Returns published in Parliamentary Papers supplemented by University Calendars.

The format of the tables varies. This is a reflection of the variation in the presentation of the statistics by individual universities throughout the period 1892-1918. There are also some gaps in the 1914-18 period and this is again due to the incomplete nature of the material.

This order is as follows. (1):-

3.1 Matriculation at the Scottish Universities 1893-1914.
(Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow)

3.2 Full-time entrants (UGC Returns).
(Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh and Glasgow)

3.3 Degrees awarded 1893-circa 1918.
(Aberdeen, St Andrews, Edinburgh And Glasgow)

3.4. Degrees awarded 1919-1939.

1. Please note that where appropriate footnotes follow the tables. Also please note that 'm' =men and 'w'=women and 't'=total

APPENDIX 3.1

MATRICULATION AT THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES 1893-1914

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN - MATRICULATION FIGURES 1892-1919

SESSION	ARTS		SCIENCE		DIVINITY		LAW		MEDICINE		TOTAL WINTER SESSION			TOTAL SUMMER SESSION			TOTAL MATRICULATED Academic Year	TOTAL NON Matriculated	TOTAL
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	T	M	W	T	(912)	(812)	(912)
1892-3	(375)		(9)		(19)		(46)		(408)		(857)			(55)			768	21	789
1893-4	(328)		(11)		(19)		(45)		(367)		(770)			(42)			(812)		(812)
1894-5	293	20	22	-	20	-	45	-	331	-	711	20	731	57	1	58	747	35	782
1895-6	272	34	19	-	25	-	50	-	318	1	684	35	719	63	-	63	713	42	755
1896-7	274	42	22	-	23	-	40	-	291	1	651	42	693	62	-	62	707	69	776
1897-8	279	64	34	-	20	-	40	-	239	5	662	69	731	45	-	45	715	93	808
1898-9	298	83	35	-	13	-	31	-	287	6	664	89	753	51	4	55	720	108	828
1899-1900	277	94	50	2	16	-	37	-	281	11	661	107	768	59	1	60	687	113	800
1900-01	270	98	35	1	11	-	36	-	278	1-	630	109	739	57	4	61	695	136	831
1901-02	277	115	44	1	14	0	36	-	266	14	637	130	767	58	6	64	723	141	864
1902-03	266	117	48	-	15	-	38	-	291	17	658	134	792	65	7	72	730	154	884
1903-04	245	130	64	3	14	-	36	-	307	20	666	153	819	64	1	65	718	161	879
1904-05	239	138	64	3	14	-	31	-	326	10	674	151	825	44	10	54	686	184	880
1905-06	242	165	76	6	21	-	30	-	290	9	659	180	839	37	4	41	676	204	890
1906-07	268	185	69	8	20	-	22	-	264	6	643	199	842	43	5	48	676	256	932
1907-08	260	232	75	12	21	-	24	-	236	6	616	250	866	60	6	66	714	256	970
1908-09	302	235	79	9	20	-	27	-	231	4	659	248	907	55	8	63	729	278	1007
1909-10	305	246	102	16	18	-	33	-	223	7	681	269	950	48	9	57	693	276	969
1910-11	289	242	108	15	18	-	19	-	226	13	660	270	930	33	6	39	724	311	1035
1911-12	298	271	118	16	22	-	15	-	237	16	685	303	988	39	8	47	725	318	1043
1912-13	297	272	119	22	26	-	16	-	237	15	695	309	1004	30	9	39	732	337	1069
1913-14	289	272	117	30	25	-	20	-	245	26	696	328	1024	36	9	45	492	332	827
1914-15	176	264	77	27	21	-	12	-	186	37	472	328	800	23	4	27	380	304	684
1915-16	117	209	38	28	15	-	3	-	186	54	359	291	650	21	13	34	267	345	612
1916-17	76	227	20	24	10	-	2	-	128	83	236	334	570	31	11	42	309	388	697
1917-18	55	233	20	26	7	-	4	-	149	114	235	373	608	74	15	89	769	418	1187
1918-19	111	211	82	47	8	-	6	-	271	147	478	406	884	291	12	303			

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS - MATRICULATION FIGURES - 1893-1919

SESSION	DIVINITY			ARTS			MEDICINE			SCIENCE			LAW			TOTALS			ADJUSTED TOTAL (more than 1 faculty)		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
1893-4			32			157						17						206			
1894-5			29			157			1			11						199			
1895-6			24			164			4			12						204			
1896-7			22			172			12			16						222			
1897-8			16			171			25			24						236			
1898-9			14			193			29			18						254			
1899-1900	20	-	20	128	81	209	20	6	26	24	1	25				192	88	280	176	88	264
1900-01	29	-	29	134	87	221	17	4	21	24	-	24				204	91	295	179	91	270
1901-02	16	-	16	138	90	228	14	4	18	33	4	37				201	98	299	181	95	276
1902-03	17	-	17	154	106	260	11	8	19	33	8	41				215	122	337	191	115	306
1903-04	18	-	18	137	91	228	16	9	25	25	7	32				196	107	303	181	106	287
1904-05	22	1	23	134	88	222	19	6	25	29	8	37				204	103	307	185	102	287
1905-06	30	1	31	141	111	252	14	3	17	30	6	36				215	121	336	198	119	317
1906-07	20	1	21	139	109	249	9	7	16	30	7	37				198	124	322	184	122	306
1907-08	21	1	22	145	126	271	10	3	13	33	9	42				209	139	348	194	134	328
1908-09	22	1	23	128	144	272	9	9	18	40	9	49				199	163	362	184	157	341
1909-10	17	-	17	141	141	282	10	12	22	41	10	51				209	163	372	190	155	345
1910-11	20	-	20	126	151	277	15	9	24	43	8	51				204	168	372	183	161	344
1911-12	20	-	114	124	238	16	12	28	45	11	56	55				195	147	342	170	144	314
1912-13	21	-	21	106	113	219	11	10	21	40	15	55				178	138	316	164	134	298
1913-14	23	-	23	109	106	215	16	8	24	34	17	51				182	131	313	173	127	300
1914-15	18	-	18	108	134	242	54	26	80	59	28	87	5	-	5	244	184	432	232	184	416
1915-16	15	-	15	56	138	194	46	47	93	31	28	59	3	-	3	151	213	364	143	208	351
1916-17	8	-	8	36	120	156	51	56	107	27	30	57	2	-	2	124	206	330	111	197	308
1917-18	4	-	4	38	108	146	55	76	131	25	28	53				122	212	334	107	205	312
1918-19	3	-	3	28	113	141	61	83	144	39	25	64	2	-	2	133	221	354	118	213	331

FOOTNOTE:

1. The adjusted total in the final column has subtracted from it the number of students matriculating in more than one faculty.
2. The totals exclude summer matriculations.
3. There is a separate table for University College, Dundee.
4. It will be noted that there is no breakdown into male - female entrants from 1893-1899. This was due to the lack of data regarding a breakdown in the Statistical Returns despite the fact that women were attending classes in this period.
5. The 1914-1918 figures were taken from University Calendars and faculty breakdowns include University College, Dundee.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF DUNDEE - MATRICULATION FIGURES 1893-1919

SESSION	DIVINITY			ARTS			MEDICINE			SCIENCE			LAW			TOTALS			ADJUSTED TOTALS		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
1893-4	-	-	-	8	17	25	26	7	33	33	2	35	21	-	21	88	26	114	88	26	114
1894-5	-	-	-	15	22	37	31	3	34	34	1	37	10	-	10	92	26	118	90	25	115
1895-6	-	-	-	20	41	61	36	8	44	44	3	31	7	-	7	91	52	143	88	51	139
1896-7	-	-	-	23	59	82	32	10	42	42	3	30	8	-	8	90	72	162	89	72	161
1897-8	-	-	-	22	78	100	36	13	49	49	-	9	34	9	43	101	100	201	98	92	190
1898-9	-	-	-	17	81	98	28	8	36	36	15	51	10	-	10	91	104	195	83	97	180
1899-1900	-	-	-	17	58	75	46	16	62	62	9	46	16	-	16	116	83	199	107	88	195
1900-01	-	-	-	14	67	81	51	15	66	66	11	41	16	-	16	111	93	204	112	93	205
1901-02	-	-	-	15	80	95	43	8	51	51	5	40	23	-	23	116	93	209	117	107	224
1902-03	-	-	-	27	95	122	42	6	48	48	6	51	12	-	12	126	107	233	122	92	214
1903-04	-	-	-	23	81	104	48	9	57	57	4	52	11	-	11	130	94	224	130	87	217
1904-05	-	-	-	30	68	98	52	13	65	65	8	54	10	-	10	138	89	227	128	70	198
1905-06	-	-	-	20	51	71	59	11	70	70	9	50	13	-	13	133	71	204	119	76	195
1906-07	-	-	-	19	53	72	56	14	70	70	9	42	16	-	16	124	76	200	131	67	198
1907-08	-	-	-	25	44	69	61	16	77	77	8	48	13	-	13	139	68	207	131	67	198

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH - MATRICULATION FIGURES 1893-1919

SESSION	ARTS		SCIENCE		DIVINITY		LAW		MEDICINE		MUSIC		TOTAL WINTER				TOTAL SUMMER				TOTAL ACADEMIC			
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
1893-4	(773)		(155)		(77)		(447)		(1435)		(-)		(2887)				(177)				(3064)			
1894-5	(737)		(137)		(68)		(440)		(1354)		(11)		(2747)				(192)				(2939)			
1895-6	(688)		(125)		(66)		(434)		(1335)		(8)		(2656)				(169)				(2825)			
1896-7	564	183	132	1	59	-	431	-	1277	5	5	3	2468	192	2660	166	7	173	2634	199	2833			
1897-8	567	181	130	3	59	-	385	-	1299	2	10	6	2450	192	2642	135	3	138	2585	195	2780			
1898-9	609	190	137	5	64	-	360	-	1279	7	8	11	2457	213	2670	171	5	176	2628	218	2846			
1899-1900	629	194	138	3	47	-	362	-	1235	7	5	17	2416	221	2637	146	6	152	2562	227	2789			
1900-01	624	210	147	6	40	-	349	-	1235	13	4	20	2339	249	2648	160	3	163	2599	252	2811			
1901-02	639	247	141	1	33	-	393	-	1257	5	6	18	2469	271	2740	175	5	180	2644	276	2920			
1902-03	593	271	185	1	39	2	377	-	1267	13	6	10	2467	297	2764	182	10	192	2646	307	2956			
1903-04	595	257	211	4	50	-	341	-	1287	7	10	17	2494	285	2779	208	14	222	2702	299	3001			
1904-05	585	291	205	7	46	-	341	-	1306	2	7	12	2490	312	2802	236	5	241	2726	317	3043			
1905-06	614	338	247	9	52	-	310	-	1282	38	7	19	2512	404	2916	224	7	231	2736	411	3147			
1906-07	606	404	253	11	54	-	295	1	1301	34	8	18	2517	468	2985	200	11	211	2717	479	3196			
1907-08	596	498	249	15	64	-	287	2	1248	52	8	11	2452	578	3030	255	7	262	2707	585	3292			
1908-09	620	504	251	12	64	-	294	3	1221	58	8	12	2458	589	3047	227	12	239	2685	601	3286			
1909-10	674	530	280	18	44	-	271	1	1208	23	8	15	2485	587	3072	200	7	207	2685	594	3279			
1910-11	703	565	336	19	45	-	247	1	1181	24	7	11	2519	620	3139	220	7	227	2739	627	3366			
1911-12	712	579	384	19	51	-	268	-	1218	17	4	11	2637	626	3263	143	13	156	2780	639	3419			
1912-13	712	510	397	25	51	1	266	-	1255	6	5	14	2686	556	3242	101	9	110	2787	565	3352			
1913-14	681	500	366	25	63	-	243	1	1162	-	4	15	2519	541	3060	212	11	223	2731	552	3283			
1914-15	509	501	217	25	57	-	114	-	940	-	4	11	1841	537	3278	34	3	37	1875	540	2415			
1915-16	331	431	113	32	33	-	54	2	771	11	7	5	1309	481	1790	21	-	21	1330	481	1811			
1916-17	208	411	119	27	33	-	35	2	696	237	2	6	1093	683	1776	108	3	111	1201	686	1887			
1917-18	307	389	108	28	15	-	24	4	765	323	3	7	1222	751	1973	109	1	110	1331	752	2083			
1918-19	483	381	399	60	23	-	46	7	1233	372	3	3	2187	823	3010	532	12	544	2719	835	3554			

FOOTNOTE:

In the 1893-1914 an average 75 to 80 women were enrolled as graduation candidates in the faculty of Medicine but where 'non-matriculated' in the first two years of the First World War the dramatic increase in the number of medical women in 1916 is explained by the change in Regulations which finally admitted women to the Medical Faculty to attend its classes as fully matriculated students.

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW - MATRICULATION FIGURES (1892 - 1914)

YEAR	ARTS		SCIENCE		THEOLOGY		MEDICINE		LAW		COMBINATION OF FACULTIES			TOTAL WINTER YEAR			TOTAL SUMMER YEAR			TOTAL ACADEMIC YEAR		
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
1892-3	(928)		-		(86)		(660)		(197)		(65)		(1936)		(131)		(2067)					
1893-4	773	104	130		86	-	594 53		186	-	14	1	1783	158	1941	103	10	1886	168			
1894-5	668	142	108	2	71	-	539 52		175	-	31	2	1592	198	1790	141	13	1733	211			
1895-6	598	165	104	2	59	-	513 65		181	-	18	1	1473	233	1706	121	8	1594	241			
1896-7	558	162	113	5	61	-	555 73		217	-	51	-	1555	240	1795	67	9	1622	249			
1897-8	575	175	105	7	55	-	535 66		203	-	24	-	1496	248	1744	76	16	1572	264			
1898-9	606	215	130	4	50	-	520 69		213	-	52	2	1571	290	1861	91	14	1662	304			
1899-00	627	254	151	3	40	-	533 65		203	-	50	8	1604	330	1934	85	11	1689	341			
1900-01	657	271	160	6	41	-	522 51		195	-	32	2	1607	330	1937	81	20	1688	350			
1901-2	651	269	180	7	51	-	528 55		198	-	10	9	1618	340	1958	102	8	1720	348			
1902-3	671	271	194	8	53	-	569 53		190	-	18	4	1695	336	2031	103	24	1798	360			
1903-4	668	310	228	11	44	-	535 42		192	-	37	8	1704	371	2075	125	19	1829	390			
1904-5	673	342	242	9	48	-	553 46		183	-	32	1	1731	398	2129	118	20	1849	418			
1905-6	661	428	244	9	43	-	562 47		206	-	48	8	1764	492	2256	89	11	1853	503			
1906-7	686	511	269	9	56	-	558 50		203	-	52	7	1824	577	2407	95	9	1919	586			
1907-8	671	552	313	13	58	-	559 54		231	-	42	-	1874	619	2493	81	12	1955	631			
1908-9	688	577	348	15	59	-	564 76		208	-	59	20	1926	688	2614	78	7	2004	695			
1909-10	719	533	415	24	55	1	568 68		202	-	53	12	2012	638	2650	74	4	2086	642			
1910-11	754	552	425	33	50	1	593 66		172	1	41	17	2035	670	2705	73	12	2108	682			
1911-12	747	547	418	39	58	1	588 72		189	2	42	10	2042	671	2713	71	10	2113	681			
1912-13	726	502	435	43	54	-	589 78		199	1	119	14	2122	638	2760	65	10	2187	648			
1913-14	776	598	501	39	59	-	657 92		178	-	10	15	2181	644	2825	73	18	2254	662			
1914-15	564	447	362	37	64	-	600 127		113	-	62	14	1765	625	2390	70	10	1835	635			
1915-16	250	404	205	34	36	-	536 187		46	2	31	9	1104	637	174	60	21	1164	658			
1916-17	156	395	144	44	20	-	485 274		24	3	9	5	838	721	1559	71	32	909	753			
1917-18	138	385	128	43	9	-	490 368		23	3	19	27	807	826	1633	242	46	1049	872			
1918-19	326	384	240	62	31	-	807 453		30	4	45	33	1479	932	2411	634	23	2113	955			

APPENDIX 3.2

UNIVERSITY GRANT COMMITTEE RETURNS: ENTRANT FIGURES (FULL TIME STUDENTS) 1919-1939

Year	ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY						PURE SCIENCE			MEDICINE			TECHNOLOGY			AGRICULTURE			TOTAL			PERCENTAGE		
	DIVINITY/LAW			ARTS			M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	%M	%W	%T
	M	W	T	M	W	T																		
1919-20	332	302	634	67	33	100	552	152	704	0	0	0	184	16	200	1135	503	1638	69.3	30.7				
1920-21	355	321	676	93	50	143	504	143	647	0	0	0	170	19	189	1122	533	1655	67.8	32.2				
1921-22	377	345	722	88	64	152	468	110	578	0	0	0	135	13	148	1068	532	1600	66.7	33.3				
1922-23	369	392	761	98	64	162	438	95	533	0	0	0	88	6	94	993	557	1550	64.1	35.9				
1923-24	372	435	807	87	67	154	342	75	417	0	0	0	57	8	65	858	585	1443	59.5	40.5				
1924-25	396	436	832	84	58	142	280	38	318	2	0	2	71	9	80	833	541	1374	60.6	39.4				
1925-26	411	443	854	91	44	135	265	34	299	11	0	11	51	14	65	829	535	1354	60.8	39.2				
1926-27	396	455	851	70	34	104	266	41	307	25	0	25	64	18	82	821	548	1369	60.0	40.0				
1927-28	424	486	910	73	29	102	210	21	231	38	0	38	47	16	63	792	552	1344	58.9	41.1				
1928-29	392	428	820	65	31	96	263	31	294	37	0	37	62	16	78	819	506	1325	61.8	38.2				
1929-30	364	397	761	84	31	115	297	25	322	37	0	37	61	12	73	843	465	1308	64.4	35.6				
1930-31	325	347	672	104	33	137	289	28	317	43	0	43	65	9	74	826	417	1243	66.5	33.5				
1931-32	298	311	609	89	36	125	290	36	326	43	0	43	69	7	76	789	390	1179	66.9	33.1				
1932-33	267	304	571	85	30	115	360	52	412	47	0	47	59	5	64	818	391	1209	67.7	32.3				
1933-34	285	259	544	71	20	90	388	70	458	47	0	47	50	6	56	841	355	1196	70.3	29.7				
1934-35	284	249	533	60	20	80	404	81	485	46	0	46	52	11	63	846	361	1207	70.1	29.9				
1935-36	300	226	526	54	18	72	409	85	494	44	0	44	68	11	79	875	340	1215	72.0	28.0				
1936-37	289	199	488	39	23	62	397	83	480	41	0	41	65	13	78	831	318	1149	72.3	27.7				
1937-38	274	212	486	49	29	78	358	94	452	46	0	46	69	14	83	796	349	1145	69.5	30.5				
1938-39	254	245	499	62	37	99	365	103	468	44	0	44	84	17	101	809	402	1211	66.8	33.2				

ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY

Year	ARTS			PURE SCIENCE			MEDICINE			TECHNOLOGY			AGRICULTURE			TOTAL			PERCENTAGE	
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	%M	%W
1919-20	109	159	268	189	41	230	195	104	299	0	0	0	0	0	0	493	304	797	61.8	38.2
1920-21	96	138	234	108	39	147	209	115	324	72	0	72	0	0	0	485	292	777	62.4	37.6
1921-22	91	159	250	112	55	167	210	90	300	65	0	65	0	0	0	478	304	782	61.1	38.9
1922-23	85	172	257	108	56	164	206	78	284	45	0	45	0	0	0	444	306	750	59.2	40.8
1923-24	95	182	277	90	56	146	163	58	221	39	0	39	0	0	0	387	296	683	56.7	43.3
1924-25	92	174	266	94	60	154	115	40	155	33	0	33	0	0	0	334	274	608	54.9	45.1
1925-26	107	181	288	86	54	140	95	22	117	38	0	38	0	0	0	326	257	583	55.9	44.1
1926-27	126	194	320	84	50	134	99	14	113	42	0	42	0	0	0	351	258	609	57.6	42.4
1927-28	135	202	337	86	57	143	97	11	108	29	0	29	0	0	0	347	270	617	56.2	43.8
1928-29	164	214	378	102	46	148	113	14	127	24	0	24	0	0	0	403	274	677	59.5	40.5
1929-30	171	232	403	124	48	172	151	16	167	21	0	21	0	0	0	467	296	763	61.2	38.8
1930-31	179	239	418	131	45	176	166	20	186	19	0	19	0	0	0	495	304	799	62.0	38.0
1931-32	187	228	415	148	43	191	188	28	216	26	0	26	0	0	0	549	299	848	64.7	35.3
1932-33	198	220	418	151	45	196	193	42	235	30	0	30	0	0	0	572	307	879	65.1	34.9
1933-34	212	213	425	144	48	192	182	54	236	30	0	30	0	0	0	568	315	883	64.3	35.7
1934-35	201	199	400	142	44	186	190	69	259	38	0	38	0	0	0	571	312	883	64.7	35.3
1935-36	188	192	380	145	49	194	217	78	295	29	0	29	0	0	0	579	319	898	64.5	35.5
1936-37	161	173	334	122	53	175	222	82	304	33	0	33	0	0	0	538	308	846	63.6	36.4
1937-38	168	192	360	123	49	172	233	85	318	35	0	35	0	0	0	559	326	885	63.6	36.4
1938-39	183	221	404	115	47	162	232	83	315	47	0	47	0	0	0	577	351	928	62.2	37.8

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY

Year	ARTS				PURE SCIENCE				MEDICINE				TECHNOLOGY				AGRICULTURE				TOTAL				PERCENTAGE	
	DIVINITY/LAW		M		M		M		M		M		M		M		M		M		M		M		%M	%W
	M	W	T		M	W	T		M	W	T		M	W	T		M	W	T		M	W	T			
1919-20	804	526	1330	939	149	1088			1336	403	1739	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	25	3104	1078	4182		74.2	25.8
1920-21	830	572	1402	268	85	353			1387	413	1800	378	2	380	2	380	221	6	6	227	3084	1078	4162		74.1	25.9
1921-22	864	628	1492	222	90	312			1328	371	1699	288	1	289	1	289	268	3	3	271	2970	1093	4063		73.1	26.9
1922-23	859	730	1589	231	74	305			1240	299	1539	226	1	227	1	227	181	3	3	190	2743	1107	3850		71.2	28.8
1923-24	816	789	1605	183	77	260			1120	235	1355	214	0	214	0	214	132	3	3	135	2465	1104	3569		69.1	30.9
1924-25	838	858	1696	180	55	235			929	171	1100	200	0	200	0	200	93	2	2	95	2340	1086	3326		67.3	32.7
1925-26	871	898	1769	182	51	233			844	129	973	194	0	194	0	194	88	4	4	92	2179	1082	3261		66.8	33.2
1926-27	953	944	1897	190	67	257			892	107	999	198	0	198	0	198	89	2	2	91	2322	1120	3442		67.5	32.5
1927-28	1029	1005	2034	179	56	235			956	115	1071	187	0	187	0	187	93	5	5	98	2444	1181	3625		67.4	32.6
1928-29	1045	972	2017	170	50	220			983	122	1105	168	0	168	0	168	101	5	5	106	2467	1149	3616		68.2	31.8
1929-30	1089	991	2080	183	57	240			1046	133	1179	151	0	151	0	151	105	3	3	108	2574	1184	3758		68.5	31.5
1930-31	1048	980	2028	182	67	249			1021	136	1157	158	0	158	0	158	132	1	1	133	2541	1184	3725		68.2	31.8
1931-32	1068	912	1980	193	69	262			1025	136	1161	153	0	153	0	153	119	0	0	119	2558	1117	3675		69.6	30.4
1932-33	1003	861	1864	191	64	255			1076	157	1233	154	1	155	1	155	122	0	0	122	2546	1083	3629		70.2	29.8
1933-34	1008	775	1783	189	69	258			1115	151	1266	152	1	153	1	153	110	0	0	110	2574	996	3570		72.1	27.9
1934-35	975	686	1661	192	75	267			1053	153	1206	137	1	138	1	138	80	0	0	80	2437	915	3352		72.7	27.3
1935-36	961	610	1571	177	66	243			1043	172	1215	141	1	142	1	142	61	0	0	61	2383	849	3232		73.7	26.3
1936-37	942	595	1537	181	62	243			1057	181	1238	129	0	129	0	129	66	0	0	66	2375	838	3213		73.9	26.1
1937-38	924	558	1482	183	69	252			1043	201	1244	133	0	133	0	133	63	0	0	63	2346	828	3174		73.9	26.1
1938-39	902	572	1474	206	63	269			1037	208	1245	148	1	149	1	149	165	3	3	68	2358	847	3205		73.6	26.4

Year	GLASGOW UNIVERSITY			ARTS			PURE SCIENCE			MEDICINE			TECHNOLOGY			AGRICULTURE			TOTAL			PERCENTAGE	
	DIVINITY/LAW			M			M			M			M			M			M			%M	%W
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T		
1919-20	775	472	1247	183	89	272	1375	463	1838	406	11	417	34	0	34	2773	1035	3808	72.8			72.8	27.2
1920-21	839	568	1407	132	103	235	1386	439	1825	1001	12	1013	38	0	38	3396	1122	4518	75.2			75.2	24.8
1921-22	848	695	1543	203	112	315	1299	397	1696	649	0	649	54	0	54	3053	1204	4257	71.7			71.7	28.3
1922-23	876	865	1741	271	139	410	1255	323	1578	575	0	575	44	0	44	3021	1327	4348	69.5			69.5	30.5
1923-24	936	999	1935	259	143	402	1063	242	1305	543	6	549	41	0	41	2842	1390	4232	67.2			67.2	32.8
1924-25	1017	1086	2103	285	133	418	820	182	1002	501	3	504	32	5	37	2655	1409	4064	65.3			65.3	34.7
1925-26	1138	1148	2286	294	125	419	746	128	874	437	9	446	28	6	34	2643	1416	4059	65.1			65.1	34.9
1926-27	1380	1213	2593	349	132	481	758	112	870	321	3	324	28	4	32	2836	1464	4300	66.0			66.0	34.0
1927-28	1651	1406	3057	349	119	468	756	107	863	347	0	347	25	1	26	3128	1633	4761	65.7			65.7	34.3
1928-29	1845	1430	3275	321	120	441	783	103	886	320	1	321	23	3	26	3292	1657	4949	66.5			66.5	33.5
1929-30	1915	1445	3360	303	90	393	767	101	868	313	4	317	30	3	33	3328	1643	4971	68.5			68.5	31.5
1930-31	1942	1403	3345	336	93	429	818	99	917	301	3	304	28	3	31	3425	1601	5026	68.1			68.1	31.9
1931-32	1901	1347	3248	330	94	424	877	122	999	289	2	291	28	5	33	3425	1570	4995	68.6			68.6	31.4
1932-33	1847	1240	3087	307	99	406	926	141	1067	266	0	266	34	6	40	3380	1486	4866	69.5			69.5	30.5
1933-34	1740	1041	2781	351	103	454	923	150	1073	245	1	246	31	6	37	3290	1301	4591	71.7			71.7	28.3
1934-35	1617	893	2510	397	92	489	956	154	1110	240	2	242	31	8	39	3241	1149	4390	73.8			73.8	26.2
1935-36	1619	779	2398	394	106	500	940	165	1105	228	2	230	27	5	32	3208	1057	4265	75.2			75.2	24.8
1936-37	1582	713	2295	409	95	504	962	177	1139	227	0	227	29	6	35	3209	991	4200	76.4			76.4	23.6
1937-38	1520	698	2218	389	116	505	979	189	1168	220	0	220	24	4	28	3132	1007	4139	75.7			75.7	24.3
1938-39	1495	761	2256	409	116	525	944	196	1140	225	1	226	23	5	28	3096	1079	4175	74.2			74.2	25.8

DEGREES AWARDED AT THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES 1893-c.1918

Aberdeen University :Degrees Awarded 1893 1919

session	Honorary DD	LLD	Higher DSc	MD	MAHons/ ordinary		Total	BSc			MBChB			BD	LLB/BL	Total Degrees		Total excluding honorary
					M	W		M	W	T	M	W	T			men	women	
1893-4	6	10	0	11	65	0	65	3	0	3	65	0	65	6	0	166	0	166
1894-5	5	9	0	13	64	0	64	6	0	6	70	0	70	7	7	181	0	181
1895-6	8	25	0	19	52	0	52	3	0	3	60	0	60	2	5	174	0	174
1896-7	5	7	0	17	67	0	67	6	0	6	33	0	33	7	7	149	0	149
1897-8	3	7	2	20	47	4	51	6	0	6	58	0	58	5	5	153	4	157
1898-9	3	6	3	14	60	7	67	5	0	5	50	0	50	3	3	146	8	154
1899-00	4	6	0	9	72	8	80	12	0	12	51	1	52	8	3	165	9	174
1900-1	5	5	0	14	60	19	79	11	1	12	54	0	54	1	4	154	20	174
1901-2	6	7	2	16	66	14	80	5	0	5	36	1	37	3	7	148	15	163
1902-3	7	8	2	22	64	16	80	6	0	6	44	3	47	7	7	167	19	186
1903-4	6	7	1	16	68	25	93	11	0	11	47	2	49	7	4	167	27	194
1904-5	4	12	2	12	67	30	97	15	1	16	41	3	44	2	9	164	34	198
1905-6	17	103	3	19	53	30	83	26	3	29	58	3	61	3	6	288	36	324
1906-7	7	9	5	11	74	35	109	7	0	7	54	3	57	3	2	172	38	210
1907-8	5	9	3	14	61	47	108	9	1	10	59	1	60	6	6	172	49	221
1908-9	3	5	4	10	75	50	125	17	6	23	57	1	58	4	1	175	58	233
1909-10	5	7	4	11	79	82	161	16	3	19	40	0	40	3	7	172	85	257
1910-11	4	9	3	13	76	57	133	27	4	31	28	1	29	6	6	172	62	234
1911-12	7	10	3	21	96	56	152	13	1	14	35	2	37	4	4	193	59	252
1912-13	3	8	2	12	74	75	149	24	4	28	39	1	40	5	1	168	80	248
1913-14	3	12	3	14	73	64	137	22	8	30	46	2	48	7	8	187	75	262
	116	281	42	308	1413	619	2032	250	32	282	1025	24	1049	99	102	3633	678	4311
																		3914
1914-15	0	0	3	6	54	86	140	10	1	11	54	4	58	7	2	136	91	227
1915-16	0	0	4	4	34	60	94	3	2	5	36	2	38	3	0	83	65	148
1916-17	0	0	1	4	9	69	78	2	4	6	33	2	35	4	0	53	75	128
1917-18	0	0	0	5	16	49	65	5	3	8	21	7	28	2	2	51	59	110
	0	0	8	19	113	264	377	20	10	30	144	15	159	16	4	323	290	613
totals	116	281	50	327	1526	883	2409	270	42	312	1169	39	1208	115	106	3956	968	4924
																		4527

(source: Annual Statistical Returns and University Calendars)

footnotes:
1. Included in the totals for the degrees of LLD, MD and DSc etc are three women who received an LLD in 1899, a woman MD in 1909 and a DSc in 1914.
2. A Summary of degrees awarded is also available in T Watt's Roll of Graduates 1901-25 (1935)

St Andrews University: degrees awarded 1893-1919

Session	MBChB and MD		BSc		MAHons and Ord		BD	Higher D Litt etc.	Honorary DD LLD	Totals men women	Total Degrees
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total					
1893-4	11	0	11	4	0	4	22	0	5	63	63
1894-5	10	0	10	7	0	7	13	0	5	69	70
1895-6	10	0	10	6	0	6	14	0	5	55	59
1896-7	10	0	10	3	0	3	23	1	2	56	61
1897-8	0	0	0	9	0	9	17	2	6	47	51
1898-9	0	0	0	3	0	3	22	1	4	46	52
1899-1900	1	0	1	8	0	8	26	4	6	51	65
1900-1	0	0	0	5	0	5	15	1	4	32	43
1901-2	1	0	1	5	0	5	24	2	2	43	56
1902-3	4	0	4	4	1	5	24	2	4	63	90
1903-4	6	0	6	4	1	5	30	3	4	50	77
1904-5	1	3	4	9	3	12	41	1	4	66	110
1905-6	9	1	10	9	1	10	31	4	4	86	116
1906-7	6	6	12	3	3	6	23	1	4	53	93
1907-8	11	1	12	9	2	11	30	3	0	61	86
1908-9	9	3	12	7	3	10	27	0	6	60	113
1909-10	5	2	7	8	4	12	28	0	7	53	108
1910-11	9	1	10	15	1	16	64	8	0	97	165
1911-12	12	2	14	16	3	19	35	3	19	203	256
1912-13	10	3	13	6	2	8	27	3	5	64	94
1913-14	15	2	17	12	4	16	13	5	3	60	87
	140	24	164	152	28	180	549	44	99	1378	1915
							474	1023	282	537	
1914-15	12	1	13	21	3	24	33	3	1	75	103
1915-16	13	4	17	8	2	10	28	4	4	67	92
1916-17	6	6	12	2	4	6	4	1	3	25	65
1917-18	9	5	14	3	1	4	5	1	3	26	64
1918-19	9	6	15	17	4	21	19	1	4	65	94
	49	22	71	51	14	65	89	10	15	258	418
							123	54	30	160	
Total	189	46	235	203	42	245	638	54	114	1636	2333
							597	1235	312	697	

footnotes:

1. There is variation between the statistics in the Annual Returns and in the University Calendars. As the breakdown degree figures for men and women were not included in the Annual Returns the Calendars were used pre 1904.
2. Of the 164 medical degrees to 1914 18 were the higher medical degree of MD. (including one woman, Elizabeth H B Macdonald in 1906)
3. The honorary degree of LLD included some women:
Millicent Garrett Fawcett 1899

Agnes Smith Lewis
Margaret Dunlop Gibson 1901

Agnes Irwin
Countess Ersilia Caetani
Elizabeth Sanderson Haldane 1906

Mrs Helen Bosanquet 1909

Louisa Innes Lumsden
Mrs Eleanor Mildred Sidgwick 1911

There was a D Litt awarded to Mary Hamilton MA in 1908 and a B Litt recorded to a woman in 1911.

Edinburgh University :degrees awarded 1893-1914

session	Honorary		Higher		MD	Medicine			MAhons/ Ordinary			BSc			BD	BL	LLB	Total																					
	DD	LLD	Music	DSc		DLitt	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W				T	Men	Women	Total																		
1893-4	4	11	0	8	0	64	244	0	244	87	0	87	33	0	33	9	2	11	473	(0)	473																		
1894-5	6	6	1	3	0	71	214	0	214	104	0	104	19	0	19	6	2	13	445	(0)	445																		
1895-6	4	9	1	2	0	76	213	0	213	87	0	87	25	0	25	10	4	10	441	(0)	441																		
1896-7	4	7	0	3	5	79	167	5	172	92	12	104	30	0	30	6	1	9	403	17	420																		
1897-8	4	29	1	6	0	74	169	7	176	91	13	104	32	0	32	6	5	12	428	21	449																		
1898-9	3	13	4	5	1	72	201	13	214	79	20	99	28	0	28	13	3	8	427	36	463																		
1899-00	2	8	0	3	1	53	191	20	211	86	25	111	24	0	24	3	0	7	378	45	423																		
1900-1	4	8	0	10	0	61	179	8	187	106	32	138	26	1	27	3	2	5	404	41	445																		
1901-2	5	22	0	3	0	67	167	14	181	103	31	134	24	1	25	7	1	15	412	48	460																		
1902-3	4	11	0	4	1	74	156	18	174	115	36	151	30	0	30	5	2	16	416	56	472																		
1903-4	4	10	1	6	2	61	153	11	164	106	35	141	45	1	46	4	5	16	413	47	460																		
1904-5	4	9	0	7	1	76	195	10	205	110	43	153	31	0	31	4	1	12	448	55	503																		
1905-6	6	13	1	5	2	90	165	13	178	121	47	168	37	1	38	8	1	12	459	63	522																		
1906-7	6	8	1	8	1	70	147	19	166	124	54	178	42	5	47	4	2	18	427	82	509																		
1907-8	4	11	1	4	2	75	178	16	194	100	89	189	49	4	53	4	0	10	434	113	547																		
1908-9	8	12	3	7	1	71	173	17	190	117	91	208	37	1	38	4	2	15	443	116	559																		
1909-10	9	18	4	6	1	75	194	18	212	138	106	244	54	3	57	12	1	13	523	129	652																		
1910-11	8	18	1	5	3	71	154	10	164	131	95	226	57	4	61	5	0	13	459	116	575																		
1911-12	5	13	2	1	1	49	178	9	187	132	121	253	74	5	79	5	1	19	477	138	615																		
1912-13	7	12	2	10	2	72	171	11	182	156	138	294	68	5	73	5	1	14	516	158	674																		
1913-14	5	8	3	6	2	46	176	16	192	149	93	242	98	7	105	5	1	13	511	117	628																		
-----																			106	256	26	112	26	1447	3785	235	4020	2334	1081	3415	863	38	901	128	37	261	9337	1398	10735

(source: Annual Statistical Returns and University Calendars)

footnotes:

1. The degree figures for 1893-4 to 1895-6 ignore the fact that the 'first eight ladies' graduated in 1893. Like the other Scottish Universities, Edinburgh was slow to bring its statistical returns into line with what was actually happening within the university.
2. Note that two women received law degrees in session 1908-9.
3. The degree figures for the 1914-18 were incomplete and have not been included. The number of women who took Arts degrees outnumbered the men (a reflection of the matriculation statistics) but the total number of male graduates was greater than the women, a reflection of the maintenance of the male medical degree level of the pre 1914 period.
4. The individual degree totals do not tally completely with the aggregate male and female degree totals because some of the honorary degrees included some women. There were 31 women MD's; 2 LLB's; 1 DSc; 2 LLD's; 8 degrees in music (total of 44)
5. No allowance has been made for the fact that some of these degrees may have been second degrees.

Glasgow University - Degrees Awarded 1893-1914

Session	Honorary DD	LLD	Higher DSc	DLitt	MD	MBCM/MBChB m w t	MAHons/ordinary m w t	BSc m w t	BD	LLB	BL	totals m w t
1893-4	6	7	3	0	25	87 2 89	76 0 76	18 0 18	15	2	7	246 2 248
1894-5	5	7	1	0	26	120 3 123	87 2 89	23 0 23	16	6	7	298 5 303
1895-6	6	21	1	2	28	93 5 98	70 1 71	10 0 10	12	13	11	267 6 273
1896-7	5	6	2	1	25	100 5 105	96 3 99	8 0 8	14	5	5	267 8 275
1897-8	6	8	2	0	31	64 10 74	111 10 121	11 1 12	13	5	5	256 21 277
1898-9	6	8	6	0	25	69 16 85	94 14 108	19 1 20	20	10	4	261 31 292
1899-00	6	6	1	0	19	91 10 101	100 16 116	21 3 24	18	11	4	277 29 306
1900-1	28	121	5	0	24	98 10 108	128 20 148	13 0 13	11	10	5	443 30 473
1901-2	1	8	5	0	25	88 7 95	106 21 127	28 0 28	5	12	3	281 28 309
1902-3	6	7	2	0	18	75 12 87	119 31 150	31 0 31	11	11	8	288 43 331
1903-4	6	8	4	1	19	78 11 89	99 33 132	42 0 42	15	16	7	295 44 339
1904-5	6	18	3	0	29	90 8 98	142 54 196	32 1 33	13	7	10	350 63 413
1905-6	6	8	1	0	34	89 9 98	138 57 195	41 0 41	13	10	7	347 66 413
1906-7	6	25	2	1	18	100 8 108	147 65 212	52 0 52	18	7	6	382 73 455
1907-8	6	12	3	0	14	88 3 91	147 75 214	49 0 49	9	12	7	339 78 417
1908-9	3	14	7	1	23	119 9 128	147 109 256	52 2 54	18	16	10	410 120 530
1909-10	5	6	6	1	15	88 6 94	138 83 221	58 0 58	16	10	11	354 89 443
1910-11	6	12	7	3	22	91 7 97	128 108 236	78 4 82	14	9	4	374 119 493
1911-12	6	11	5	2	24	92 6 97	116 109 225	88 2 90	12	6	2	364 117 481
1912-13	6	8	5	0	25	83 9 90	155 119 274	97 1 98	7	13	7	406 129 535
1913-14	6	8	4	1	24	108 7 115	152 129 281	101 7 108	8	7	4	423 143 566
137 329	75	13	493	1911 163 2074	2488 1059 3547	872 22 894	278 198 134	6928 1244 8172				

(sources: Annual Statistical Returns and University Calendars)

footnotes:

1. As noted in the text the Glasgow University degree figures have been adjusted to give sessional figures (the women graduates listing which was compiled for career analysis was by year only)
2. The medical columns were adjusted to account for the fact that the Returns listed the MB and ChB or CM as separate degrees when in fact they were two parts of one degree.
3. The women's total does not tally with the careers table in Chapter six because the degree table only includes up to the end of session 1913-14 and excludes about 90 degrees awarded in the new session 1914-15.
4. Included in the Higher totals are 3 women DSc's and one DLitt. The MD total figure includes 15 women who took this degree. The MChB women's column does not include a further 17 women who took medical degrees as a second degree and if included would reduce the male figure by that amount. Likewise a further 7 women took BSc's as second degrees and they would also reduce the male science total by that amount. These adjustments were not included because of the manual tabulation but are noted as a correction to the table.

APPENDIX 3.4

DEGREES AWARDED - GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, ST ANDREWS & ABERDEEN (1919-1939) (Source: UGC Returns (excluding Diplomas))

YEAR	GLASGOW			EDINBURGH			ST ANDREWS			ABERDEEN		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
1919-20	329	142	471	360	127	487	60	44	104	125	87	212
1920-21	382	138	520	475	170	645	84	40	124	137	87	224
1921-22	466	163	629	693	220	913	80	49	129	244	116	360
1922-23	709	280	989	680	273	953	123	58	181	238	137	375
1923-24	770	314	1084	707	277	984	106	65	171	290	135	425
1924-25	750	360	1110	567	267	834	102	91	193	227	153	380
1925-26	600	367	967	497	250	747	81	77	158	187	136	323
1926-27	593	383	976	479	262	741	106	93	199	201	120	321
1927-28	610	402	1042	516	283	799	84	88	172	188	128	316
1928-29	606	349	955	507	254	761	93	85	178	207	147	354
1929-30	721	444	1165	506	286	792	107	76	183	209	150	359
1930-31	708	411	1119	528	246	774	121	88	209	197	105	302
1931-32	690	431	1121	588	265	853	144	108	252	178	100	278
1932-33	725	397	1122	522	296	818	164	91	255	165	118	283
1933-34	703	355	1058	566	249	815	166	86	252	183	84	267
1934-35	700	312	1012	576	232	808	153	74	227	148	101	249
1935-36	688	288	976	522	190	712	145	74	219	192	96	288
1936-37	654	252	906	543	206	749	143	65	208	214	76	290
1937-38	693	236	929	559	203	762	131	78	209	200	90	290
1938-39	716	265	981	512	169	681	144	63	207	182	91	273

Appendix to Chapter 4

Some statistics on the social background of women students at Glasgow University

Father's occupation has been the most common indicator of social class used by researchers. The evidence to date regarding the social origins of students at the Scottish Universities is scattered in a variety of studies which approach social origins from different standpoints, and with many questions and aims in mind and the sampling techniques have varied as much as the systems of classifications used to determine social background.(1) Anderson and Macdonald have looked at the social composition of entrants, Collier, Kelsall and Kelly have examined self-recruitment to the professions and Mackay has investigated geographic mobility. Apart from Mackay much of the data has centred on Glasgow University which has the most complete information on the background of students and this statistical examination of women for comparative purposes will also centre on Glasgow, using the data on father's occupation as stated on student matriculation forms.

The Matriculation Albums at Glasgow University provide data on father's occupation and this is conveniently separated into separate albums for men and women students. There are two ways to look at university women. One is to examine the patterns of entrants in any given year, the other is to examine graduate output.

The preliminary analysis carried out as part of the analysis of women graduates at Glasgow (as seen in the statistics in Chapter Three and the careers analysis in chapter Six) provided information on the father's occupations of women students in the period 1894-1914. In

1. Anderson, R D, op.cit.

Macdonald, Ian J, 'Untapped Reservoirs of Talent? Social Class and Opportunities in Scottish Higher Education', Scottish Educational Studies vol 1, 1967

Collier, Adam, 'Social origins of a sample of entrants to Glasgow University', The Sociological Review xxx 1938

Kelsall, R K, 'Self-Recruitment in Four Professions' in Glass, D V (ed) Social Mobility (1954)

Mercer, G & Forsyth, David J C, 'Some aspects of recruitment to school-teaching among university graduates in Scotland, 1860-1955' in British Journal of Educational Studies, vol xxiii, no 1 1975

Kelly, Alison, 'Family Background, subject specialisation and occupational recruitment of Scottish University students: some patterns and trends' in Higher Education, 1976, Vol 5, p 177-188.

order to provide some insight into non-graduates a sample was taken at five year intervals to examine the parental occupation of those who did not finish their course. (this data provided insight into the non-graduating trend)

For the period 1894-1914 the father's occupations of women graduates were noted in detail together with the five year sample of non-graduate entrants. (2) The data was classified according to the Registrar General's Classification for 1951 which gave an occupational ranking and social classification which divided into five broad categories - class I, higher managerial and professional, class II, lower managerial and administrators, class III skilled and supervisory, class IV semi-skilled and class V unskilled. Although it has to be noted that there is slight difference of emphasis between the 1951 classification and earlier ones it provided the most accessible codification. In addition it did not allow for proprietors, land-owners, those of independent means, retired or students so allowance was made for this. There were many problems with classification of father's occupation from the Glasgow material largely to do with the location of some categories like 'merchant' or 'engineer' which were often used as general terms to describe a shop-keeper or large retailer or a skilled worker or a professional engineer. In analysing the data some account was taken of these problems by introducing a reliability variable. This also allowed for the question of accuracy of the women students statements.

Table 4.1 below outlines the social class of women students at Glasgow University in the period 1894-1914 to include women who did not graduate in the sample years 1895-6, 1900-1, 1905-6, and 1910-11 which widened the analysis to allow for women who entered university ; it excluded data for which the occupational data was unreliable. This gave a total of 1299 cases.

2. Data was also extracted on birthplace, university residence and classes taken. Although the the data was too bulky to consider in the context of the present discussion it is hoped to utilise the material in later research work.

**Table 4.1 Social background of women
Glasgow University 1894-1914**

RGC classification	Number in sample	%
I	318	24.5
II	585	45.0
III	290	22.3
IV	41	3.2
V	3	0.2
landowners	7	0.5
retired	20	1.5
not known	35	2.7

	1299	100.0

This table reveals in aggregate form the overall impression of women students originating from social classes I, II and III in the period 1894-1914. Dividing this up by sample year a picture of some change emerges showing a wider access to women from the skilled class as seen in table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2a Social background at sample years
Graduates of the year**

RGC	1900		1905		1910	
		%		%		%
I	12	38.7	15	23.8	14	13.1
II	12	38.7	24	38.1	50	46.7
III	2	6.5	22	34.9	38	35.5
IV	-	-	-	-	3	2.8
V	-	-	-	-	1	0.9
landowner	-	-	-	-	-	-
retired	1	3.2	1	1.6	1	0.9
Not known	4	12.9	1	1.6	-	-

total	31		63		107	

**Table 4.2b Social Background at sample years
Entrants (nongrads)**

RGC	1895		1900		1905		1910	
		%		%		%		%
I	17	22.7	19	13.8	14	20.6	11	19.3
II	32	42.7	57	41.6	27	39.7	21	36.8
III	23	30.7	43	31.4	20	29.4	20	35.1
IV	2	2.7	9	6.6	1	1.5	2	3.5
V	-	-	-	-	1	1.5	-	-
l'owner	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.5
retired	-	2.2	3	-	2	2.9	-	-
not known	1	4.4	6	1.3	3	4.4	1	1.7

	75		137		68		57	

These findings are supported by extracting data from the secondary sources already mentioned above of which Anderson and Macdonald are the most relevant. Although Collier's classification is more complicated his data gives us an insight into changes in the inter-war period. All data is concerned with Glasgow University.

Table 4.3 Anderson: parental occupations of students

Year/ class	Women %			Men %		
	1900	1905	1910	1900	1905	1910
Professional	20.7	25.0	27.3	24.2	28.9	25.8
Commercial/ Industrial	14.6	35.0	27.3	24.7	22.8	24.5
Agricultural	2.4	-	6.8	5.1	3.3	2.6
Intermediate	28.0	21.3	19.3	23.2	20.4	19.7
Working-class	28.0	16.3	18.2	20.7	23.7	24.0

(Source Anderson, R D, op. cit. pages 310-313)

Table 4.4 Macdonald: social class representation

	Men and Women RGC		All faculties %	
	1910		1934	1960
I	19.2		18.2	17.7
II	38.7		38.6	35.9
III _{nm}	10.3		11.8	13.6
III _m	23.2		19.9	23.6
IV	7.6		9.3	6.7
V	0.6		2.6	2.2

(Source Macdonald, I, op. cit. page 53)

**Table 4.5 Collier: social origins of entrants
1926-7 to 1934-5**

class	men %	women %
Professional	20.8	21.1
Entrepreneur	10.0	11.2
Artisan	24.8	23.4
Blackcoat	13.5	12.1
Farmer	2.5	3.0
Own Account	14.3	15.6
Higher Civil Service	1.8	2.0
Lower Civil service	1.7	1.8
Unskilled	9.9	8.9
Unemployed	0.7	0.9

(Collier, A, op. cit. page 177, percentages calculated from totals)

It will be apparent from the above selection of tables that despite the variation in classification and time periods the most notable features are the cluster of entrants in the professional and business groups and the lack of differentiation between men and women students. Macdonald in particular noted that for both men and women there was little change over time in the proportions within each group although the overall number of students had increased several fold.

Appendix to Chapter 6

The following notes are intended to supplement some of the biographical comments in Chapter Six. These are a random subjective sample based on information which turned up in the course of the general research work and is therefore by no means fully representative or exhaustive. There is much further research needing to be done.

Medicine:

There were many important Edinburgh medical women. Dr Herzfeld we have learnt became a renowned surgeon. Another of the Edinburgh medical women was Dr Joan K Rose who became obstetrical officer at the Elsie Inglis Memorial Maternity Hospital. Alexandra May Chalmers Watson, (nee Campbell Geddes) Edinburgh's first university medical graduate in 1896 (MD 1898) worked at the Bruntsfield Hospital, Edinburgh. She also made an outstanding contribution to public life as a leader and counsellor in woman's organisations and social service movements. She was in fact First President of the Edinburgh Women Citizens Association. Other eminent Edinburgh medical women were Dr Mary Brotherston and Dr Winifred Rushforth. Dr Maeve Brereton (MB 1921 Edinburgh) combined marriage to the well-known economic historian William H Marwick with a career as Medical Officer of Health to the Edinburgh Mother's Welfare Clinic and was a pioneer of family planning. A later graduate, Dr Dorothea Walpole (sister of the novelist Sir Hugh Walpole) was a pioneer in Edinburgh in the field of student health. Dr Letitia Fairfield (MB 1907) who was a notable suffragette was a well-known doctor in London (and also the sister of Rebecca West).

There were many Glasgow women who made advances in the medical profession. One notable Glasgow graduate was Agnes Forbes Blackadder (Mrs Saville) who became a well-known dermatologist. Dr Jessie Hawkesworth Smith, House surgeon at the Glasgow Royal Maternity Hospital and later medical missionary with the United Free Church in Rajasthan, North West India exemplified the combining of career and marriage and fulfilled the original ideas of the destination of medical women by becoming a medical missionary. Dr Marion Gilchrist of whom we have already heard became opthalmic surgeon at Glasgow's Redlands Private Hospital for Women. Other notable Glasgow medical women were Kate Fraser, Janie Hamilton McIlroy (sister of Annie Louisa McIlroy), Janet F Henderson (first woman resident in surgery at Glasgow Royal Infirmary), Dr Mary Forbes Liston and Dr Rita Hutcheson (family planning movement in Glasgow in the 1920s).

Education:

Frances Melville was an important figure in the university education of women. She has already been mentioned in the context of the WRC at Edinburgh University and the EUWDS. Her career was centred on the Universities from her graduation in 1897 as a tutor at Edinburgh and then for one year as lecturer in Mental and Moral Science at Cheltenham Ladies College followed by her appointment in 1900 as Warden of University Hall, St Andrews and then as Mistress of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow. Her activities went beyond this to encompass a strong interest in the suffrage question as witnessed by her involvement in the Graduates Case and her chairing of the Glasgow Society for Women's Suffrage; during the 1914-18 war she compiled a Register of Scottish Women Graduates for War Service; she was a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Glasgow Women Citizens Association and Glasgow Society for Equal Citizenship. She was President of the Glasgow Association of University Women and later President of the BFUW; in 1937 she contested the Glasgow University Parliamentary Election.

Her successor at University Hall, Mildred Dobson MA (1897) BSc BD was another who made a successful career. Before her appointment she had won a Carnegie Research Scholarship. At Glasgow Janet Spens MA 1899 and later DLitt in 1910 was Tutor in Arts at the QMC. In 1903 she had founded Laurel Bank School for girls with Miss Margaret Hannan Watson a graduate of St Andrews; she then went to Oxford in 1911 as Tutor in English Literature at Lady Margaret Hall. She was followed as Tutor in Arts by Miss Maude Gertrude May (later women's adviser to students). Her fellow Tutor in Science and Medicine was Agnes Picken MA MBChB who as Mrs Salmon after her marriage went on to be a GP and later Medical Superintendent and Chief Physician at Redlands Hospital for Women. (She had also been in the Scottish Women's Hospitals at Royaumont in France during the war.) Later generations of university women filled the posts of adviser to women students at Glasgow (Miss Barbara L Napier) and the first woman assessor of Glasgow University Court was Elizabeth Carlaw Wallace (MA, Glasgow 1913); Mrs Greta C Tweedale, MA honours in 1925 at Glasgow became a lecturer in History and was also adviser to women students for a short time. In Edinburgh Miss Ethelwyn Lemon was also a lecturer in history, she had previously been a tutor to women students.

Helen Rutherford, MA, First Class Honours in Classics at Glasgow in 1898 was one example of a woman graduate who worked in Glasgow Training College and later Jordanhill College of Education as First Mistress of method. She had been prevented from taking up an Oxford scholarship by home circumstances. There were also women in teaching who

made important contributions because it has to be remembered that the general term 'teacher' concealed a diverse range of roles within it - from governess and primary teacher to private school teacher and headmistress. Miss Mary Tweedie (MA Edinburgh 1900), was Principal of Edinburgh Ladies College for 32 years from 1924. Laurelbank School in Glasgow already mentioned and many other private girls' schools were staffed by many women graduates who also passed on the university tradition to many of their pupils who subsequently had outstanding careers.

Bibliography

1. Primary material

1a University Calendars, Handbooks, Registers etc.,

Aberdeen University Calendar.

Watt, T (ed) Roll of Graduates of the University of Aberdeen 1901-25. (1935)

Edinburgh University Calendar.

Edinburgh University Student Handbook.

'The Student' (Edinburgh University Magazine).

E.U. Roll of Honour 1914-19.

Glasgow University Calendars.

Glasgow University Student Handbook.

Glasgow University General Council Albums.

Queen Margaret College Reports and Calendars.

Queen Margaret College Handbook.

Glasgow University Magazine.

St. Andrews University Calendar.

College Echoes (St. Andrews University Student Magazine).

St Andrews University Roll of Honour and Roll of Service 1914-19. (1920)

1b University Archives

Edinburgh

ELEA/EAUEW Papers (EUL Drummond Room, Gen 1877) including:-

Gen 1877/1 ELEA Report 1868-79.

EAUEW Calendars 1879-88,

Gen 1877/2 ELEA Class Register Books 1867-73 & 1873-92.

/3 Minutes of General Council - General Committees.

/5 Minute Book of general meetings ELEA 1869-75

- /6 Certificates in Arts 1874-1892.
- /12 Papers relating to Educational Endowments.
- /13 ELEA Correspondence re bursaries and ladies' school correspondence.
- /14 Miscellaneous pages - correspondence.

Masson Hall Papers (Drummond Room, unclassified) including;-

Box 1

EAUEW material (Reports etc).

Memorandum and Articles of Association of Masson Hall Incorporated 1894.

Rackstraw, M. 'Occupations of students who left Masson Hall in 1931 and 1932.'

Edinburgh Association for the Provisions of Hostels for Women Students.

Annual Report and Abstract of Accounts 1895-1919.

Masson Hall Incorporated Special Committees 1897.

Newsletter 1925-61.

Box 2

Minutes of University of Edinburgh Masson Hall Committee 1920-25.

Minutes of Masson Hall Incorporated 1894-1916

Gen 1877/7 Masson Hall papers and scrapbooks;-

Education and Graduation of women at Edinburgh University. The Masson Hall Residence for women students (nd).

Masson Hall Inc. 1894 (List of Subscribers).

Rackstraw, M Retrospect and Forecast (1931).

Masson Hall Scrapbook.

Glasgow

(note: there is an extensive collection of material relating Queen Margaret College and only a selection has been listed)

Glasgow Association for the Higher Education of Women -
Annual Reports and Prospectus 1877-1883.

Queen Margaret College Calendars and Reports 1884-1892.

Register of members of QMC 1883-1892 (QMC/GS 30073).

Glasgow University Matriculation Albums.

Register of Marriage of Women Graduates.

List of Matriculated students of QMC 1892-1934 (QMC/GS
20578).

Correspondence between Miss Janet Galloway and R Fitzroy
Bell of Scottish Universities Commission re admission of
women to Scottish Universities (QMC/GS 20046).

Petitions and Memorials - various

Queen Margaret College Presscuttings volumes.

Queen Margaret College Suffrage Society , "Jus Suffragii
Alumnae' (1909).

Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society
Minute Book 1899-1905.

St Andrews

(a)UY3778 Private Circulars and letters re University Hall.

(b)UY3778 Petitions etc relating to University Education
of Women.

(a)UY906 Women Students Reading Room Minutes 1894-9.

Miscellaneous

Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

Annual Reports - 1901 to present day.

Edinburgh Women Citizens Association -

Souvenir of Coming of Age 1918-1939.

Syllabi and Annual Reports.

Scottish Women Citizens Yearbook (1923).

Soroptimist Club of Edinburgh Reports 1929-1939.

University Grants Committee Returns from Universities
and University Colleges in
receipt of Treasury Grant.

2. Unpublished.

Adams, Catherine 'Teaching - a celibate profession. A
study of the marriage bar on women
teachers in Scotland 1915-1945'
(MEd thesis, Glasgow University
1987).

Alexander, Wendy 'The origins, Education and
Destination of early medical
graduates of Glasgow University'
(under-graduate dissertation,
Dept. of Economic History, Glasgow
University, 1986).

Anon. Historical Sketch of the movement
for the higher education of women
in Glasgow and Queen Margaret
College (1896).

Campbell,
Mrs M. Menzies 'Some recollections of University
and early days in practice 1912-20'.
(unpublished paper given to
Scottish Society for the History of
Medicine, 22/10/1977)

'The First World War - A Home
Surgeon Remembers'. (unpublished
paper given to Lindsay Club
(British Dental Association, 1/7/1977)

Corr, Helen 'The gender division of labour in
the Scottish teaching profession
1872-1914 with particular reference
to elementary school teaching. (PhD
Edinburgh 1984).

- Logan, Catherine 'Women at Glasgow University - Determination or pretermination.' (undergraduate dissertation, Dept. of Economic History, Glasgow University, 1986).
- Melville, Frances H. British Federation of University Women. A History. (1949)
- Moore, L.R. 'Education for the Lasses. A Summary of Events in Aberdeen 1868-1898'.
- Nisbet, J.D. The social background of a University Population in 1933, 1953, 1959.

3. Parliamentary Papers, Reports, etc.

The following are the references to the annual statistical returns found in parliamentary papers:

ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT OF ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY

1892-3	1893-4	(532)	lxix	237
1893-4	1895	(70)	lxxviii	179
1894-5	1896	(9)	lxvi	271
1895-6	1897	(7)	lxxi	409
1896-7	1898	(21)	lxxi	165
1897-8	1899	(61)	lxxvi	449
1898-9	1900	(7)	lvvi	375
1899-00	1901	(57)	lvii	343
1900-1	1902	(76)	lxxxi	273
1901-2	1903	(11)	liii	453
1902-3	1904	(70)	lxxvii	111
1903-4	1905	(62)	lxi	195
1904-5	1906	(76)	lci	481
1905-6	1907	(117)	lxv	547
1906-7	1908	(66)	lxxxvi	865
1907-8	1909	(8)	lxix	577
1908-9	1910	(10)	lxxii	699
1909-10	1911	(101)	lx	45
1910-11	1912-13	(56)	lxvi	363
1911-12	1913	(43)	l	1041
1912-13	1914	(70)	lxiv	1053
1913-14	1914-16	(146)	lii	365

ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1892-93	1894	(17)	lxvii	359
1893-94	1895	(14)	lxviii	225
1894-95	1896	(10)	lxvi	315
1895-96	1897	(8)	lxxi	459
1896-97	1898	(46)	lxxi	195
1897-98	1899	(9Sess1)	lxxv	485
1898-99	1900	(10)	lxv	411
1899-00	1901	(23)	lvii	395
1900-01	1902	(47)	lxxxi	295
1901-02	1903	(13)	liii	511
1902-03	1904	(16)	lxxvii	131
1903-04	1905	(18)	lxi	247
1904-05	1906	(23)	xiii	533
1905-06	1907	(53)	lxv	609
1906-07	1908	(61)	lxxxvi	883
1907-08	1909	(6)	lxix	597
1908-09	1910	(66)	lxxii	719
1909-10	1911	(68)	lx	73
1910-11	1912-13	(63)	lxvi	405
1911-12	1912-13	(540)	lxvi	425
1912-13	1914	(177)	lxiv	1131
1913-14	1914-16	(214)	lii	439

ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

1892-3 (500)	1893-4	(500)	lxix	1287
1893-4 (100)	1895	(100)	lxxviii	249
1894-5	1896	(12)	lxvi	337
1895-6	1897	(106)	lxxi	481
1896-7	1898	(20)	lxxi	219
1897-8	1899	(76)	lxxvi	539
1898-9	1900	(11)	lxvi	441
1899-0	1901	(70)	lvii	439
1900-1	1902	(123)	lxxxi	311
1901-2	1903	(261)	liii	543
1902-3	1904	(107)	lxxvii	147
1903-4	1905	(136)	lxi	289
1904-5	1906	(101)	xcii	577
1905-6	1907	(72)	lxv	625
1906-7	1908	(116)	lxxxvi	899
1907-8	1909	(48)	lxix	613
1908-9	1910	(281)	lxxii	735
1909-10	1911	(129)	lx	91
1910-11	1912	(88)	lx	445
1911-12	1913	(64)	lxvi	1051
1912-13	1914	(145)	lxix	1063
1913-14	1914-16	(212)	lii	461

ANNUAL STATISTICAL REPORTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST
ANDREWS.

1892-93	1894	(183)	lxvii	(371)
1893-94	1895	(227)	lxxviii	(283)
1894-95	1896	(13)	lxvi	(373)
1895-96	1897	(79)	lxxi	(519)
1896-97	1898	(23)	lxxi	(259)
1897-98	1899	(138)	lxxvi	(557)
1898-99	1900	(233)	lxvi	(481)
1899-00	1901	(155)	lvii	(463)
1900-01	1902	(124)	lxxi	(387)
1901-02	1903	(114)	liii	(569)
1902-03	1904	(163)	lxxvii	(219)
1903-04	1905	(187)	lxi	(315)
1904-05	1906	(187)	lcii	(605)
1905-06	1907	(192)	lxv	(669)
1906-07	1908	(118)	lxxxvi	(943)
1907-08	1909	(81)	lxix	(691)
1908-09	1910	(147)	lxxii	(813)
1909-10	1911	(112)	lx	(189)
1910-11	1912-13	(198)	lxvi	(531)
1911-12	1913	(135)	l	(1123)
1912-13	1914	(209)	lxiv	(1193)
1913-14	1914-16	(261)	lii	(559)

Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire
into the Universities of Scotland, 1878,xxxii

General Report of Commissioners under the Universities
(Scotland) Act 1889 (1900 xxv)

Court of Session cases

Vol.ix Jex-Blake v Craig page 715 and 973

Vol.xi Action of Declarator page 784

vol 1908, The Scottish Graduates Case page 113

Vol 1909, The Scottish Graduates Case (Appeal Court)
page147

4. Education

4a Education - General

- Bedford, A.J. Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland. (Edinburgh, 1946)
- Bone, Thomas R. (Ed) Studies in the History of Scottish Education 1872-1939. (1967)
- Cruickshank, Marjorie History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland. (1970)
- Osborne, G.S. Scottish & English Schools. A comparative Study of the Past Fifty Years. (London 1966)
- Roxburgh, James M. The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919. (1971)
- Scotland, James The History of Scottish Education Vol 2 1872 to present day. (1969)

4b Universities - General & Institutional

- Anderson, R. D. Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland. (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Boog Watson, W.N. 'LA of Edinburgh University', UEJ, 25, 1971-2, p215.
- Cant, R.G. The University of St Andrews, a Short History. (Edinburgh 1970)
- Coutts, James A History of the University of Glasgow 1451-1909. (Glasgow, 1909)
- Davie, George The Democratic Intellect, Scotland and her Universities in the 19th Century. (Edinburgh, 1964)
- Donaldson, Gordon (ed) Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life. (Edinburgh 1983)
- Glasgow University The Curious Diversity. Glasgow University on Gilmorehill; The First Hundred Years.

Glasgow University	University of Glasgow Gilmorehill Centenary 1870 - 1970.
Grant, Alexander	The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its first three hundred years. (2 vols 1884)
Horne, David Bayne	A short history of Edinburgh University 1556-1889. (Edinburgh, 1967)
Mackay, Donald I.	Geographical Mobility and the Brain Drain. A case study of Aberdeen University Graduates 1860-1960. (London, 1969)
Mackie, J.D.	The University of Glasgow 1451-1951. (Glasgow 1954)
Marwick, W.H.	'Adult Educationalists in Victorian Scotland', UEJ Vol 6, no 2, 1933-4
Marwick, W.H.	'Early Adult Education in Edinburgh.' UEJ Vol 5, 1932-3
Marwick, W.H.	'The University Extension Movement in Scotland' UEJ, Vol 8, 1936-7
Morgan, Alexander,	'Matriculation in the Faculty of Medicine prior to 1858.' UEJ, Vol, 8, 1936-7
Peddie, John R.	The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland 1901-51. The First fifty years. (Edinburgh, 1951)
Pinkerton, Roy M.	Patrick Geddes Hall Scotland's first Hall of Residence. (pamphlet, 1978)
Pinkerton, Roy M.	'Of Chambers and Communities; Students Residence at the University of Edinburgh 1583-1983' in Donaldson, Gordon (ed) Four Centuries; Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983.
Sanderson Michael	The Universities in the 19th Century. (1975)
Sanderson, Michael	The Universities and British Industry 1850-1970. (1972)

- Simpson, W.Douglas (Ed) The Fusion of 1860; A record of the Centenary Celebrations and a History of United University of Aberdeen 1860-1960. (Edinburgh, 1963)
- Southgate, Donald University Education in Dundee. A Centenary History. (1982)
- Turner, A.Logan (Ed) History of the University of Edinburgh. (Edinburgh, 1933)

4c Women in Scottish Education

- Ainslie, Charlotte E. 'The Education of girls and the position of women teachers in Scotland.' , School World, 1917
- Women's Union, Edinburgh 'Atalanta's Garland' being the book of the Edinburgh University Women's Union. (1926)
- Boog Watson, E.Janet Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women, 1867-1967.
- Boog Watson, W.N. 'The First Eight Ladies.' UEJ, vol 23, 1967-8
- Boog Watson, W.N. 'The Story of the Women Students' Union.' UEJ , vol24, 1969-70
- Burton, Katherine A Memoir of Mrs Crudelius. (Edinburgh, 1879)
- Campbell, Mrs 'The rise of the Higher Education of Women movement in Glasgow', The Book of the Jubilee 1451-1901
- Checkland, D.E. Queen Margaret Union 1890-1980.Women in the University of Glasgow. (1980)
- Corr, Helen 'The sexual division of labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914' in Humes, Walter M, and Paterson, Hamish M Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980. (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Corr, Helen 'The schoolgirls' Curriculum and the Ideology of the Home, 1870-1914' in Uncharted Lives. (Glasgow Women Studies group) (1983)

Davies, Emily	Women in the Universities of England and Scotland. (Cambridge 1896)
Dundas, Anne	The St George's Hall Classes and System of Instruction by correspondence. (1877) (ECL ref: YLC 2069 B4160)
Edinburgh Essay Society	The Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine (1875 -)
Gilchrist, Marion	Some early recollections of the Queen Margaret Medical School. ('Surgo', 1948)
Grant, Sir A.	Happiness and Utility as promoted by higher education of women. (1872)
Grant, Julia M. (Ed) et al	St Leonards School 1877-1927.
Hamilton, Sheila	'Interviewing the middle class; women graduates of the Scottish Universities, 1910-1935', Oral History Vol 10 No. 2, 1982.
Hamilton, Sheila	'The first generations of University Women 1869-1930', Gordon Donaldson (ed) Four Centuries Edinburgh University Life 1583-1983. (1983)
Jardine, Mrs Robert	Janet A Galloway LLD, Some Memories and Appreciations. (Glasgow 1914)
Jones, Sir Henry & Muirhead, John Henry	The Life and Philosophy of Edward Caird. (Glasgow 1921)
Knight, Wm.	The higher education of women (with special reference to the St Andrews University LLA title and Diploma). (1887)
Laurel Bank School	1903-1953. (Glasgow 1953)
Lumsden, Louisa Innes	On the Higher Education of Women in Great Britain and Ireland. (Aberdeen 1884)
Masson, Flora	'Women Students - Harvest and Seedtime' Scotsman 8/11/1933.
Masson, Flora	'David Masson', UEJ vol 3 1929-30

- Melville, Frances H. University Education for Women in Scotland. (1902)
- Melville, Frances H. 'Queen Margaret College', College Courant, Vol 1, No. 2.
- Meredith, A.F. 'Of Learned Ladies' in Contact, (University of Dundee) Vol 1, no 3 1976
- Moore, L.R. 'Aberdeen and the Higher Education of Women 1868-1877.' AUR, no 163 Spring 1980.
- Moore, L.R. 'Invisible Scholars; Girls Learning Latin and Mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872.' History of Education, 13 No. 2, 1984.
- Moore, L.R. 'The Aberdeen Ladies Educational Association 1877-1883.', Northern Scotland vol iii, (1977-80).
- Murray, David Miss Janet Ann Galloway and the Higher Education of Women in Glasgow. (Glasgow 1914)
- Nimmo, Mrs 'Some recent notes and recollections of Queen Margaret College Life.' in The Book of the Jubilee 1451-1901
- McMillan, Annie 'Queen Margaret College in the Middle Ages' in The Book of the Jubilee 1451-1901
- Oakeley, Sir Herbert Opening address to the Edinburgh Association for the University Education of Women. (Edinburgh 1884)
- 'Pass it on'. The magazine of the Women's Educational Union. vol 15, 1, Nov 1935.
- Rae, Lettice Milne Ladies in Debate . Being a history of the Ladies' Edinburgh Debating Society. (Edinburgh 1936)
- Shepherd, Nan 'Women in the University, Fifty Years: 1892-1942.', AUR viii, 1941-2.
- Smart, R.N. 'Literate Ladies - a fifty year experiment.' Alumnus Chronicle, vol 59, 1968.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Stevenson, Louisa | The Higher Education of Women in Scotland. (Edinburgh 1877) |
| The Story of St George's School (1888-1963). (Edinburgh 1966) | |
| Struthers, Mrs C. | 'University local examinations' TNAPSS, Aberdeen 1871 |
| Struthers, Mrs C. | 'The Admission of Women to the Scottish Universities. (1833) |
| Welsh, Beatrice | After the Dawn. A record of the pioneer work in Edinburgh for the higher education of women. (Edinburgh 1939) |
| Wilkie, Helen I. | 'Steps which led to the appointment of a woman supervisor of studies' UEJ 1971-2 p136-8. |

5. General Women's Themes

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Banks, Olive | Becoming a Feminist. The social origins of 'First Wave' Feminism. (1986) |
| Banks, Olive | Biographical Dictionary of British Feminists vol 1 1800-1930. (1986) |
| Banks, Olive | Faces of Feminism. (1981) |
| Branca, Patricia | Silent Sisterhood. (1975) |
| Branca, Patricia | Women in Europe since 1750. (1978) |
| Bremner, C. S. | Education of Girls and Women In Great Britain. (1897) |
| Bradbrook, M.C. | That Infidel Place. A Short History of Girton College, 1869-1969. (1969) |
| Brittain, Vera | The Women at Oxford. (1960) |
| Bryant, Margaret | The Unexpected Revolution: A Study in the history of education of women and girls in the nineteenth century. (1979) |
| Burstall, Sara | Retrospect and Prospect. Sixty years of women's education. (London 1933) |

- Burstyn, J.N. 'Education and sex: The medical case against higher education for women in England, 1870-1900.' Proc. American Philosophical Society, April 1973 vol 117.
- Burstyn, J.N. Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood. (London, 1980)
- Calder, Jenni The Victorian and Edwardian Home. (London 1979)
- Cobbe, F.P. 'Social Service Congresses and women's part in them.' MacMillan's Magazine, 1861 p 81-94.
- Conway, Jill 'Perspectives on the History of Women's Education in the United States.' History of Education Quarterly 1974.
- Davidoff, Leonore The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season. (London 1973)
- Davidson, Mrs H Coleman What our Daughters can do for themselves. A Handbook of Women's Employments. (1894)
- Davies, Emily Thoughts on some Questions relating to women, 1860-1908. (1910)
- Delamont, Sara & Duffin, Lorna (Eds) The Nineteenth Century Woman. Her Cultural and Physical World. (London 1978)
- Delamont, Sara 'The contradictions in Ladies' Education' in Delamont, S & Duffin, L (eds) *ibid.*
- Fawcett, Millicent G. 'The Education of Women of the Middle and Upper Classes', in MacMillan's Magazine Vol XVII 1868.
- Frankfort, R. Collegiate Women's Domesticity and Career in Turn of the Century America. (New York 1977)
- Gordon, Alice M. 'The after-careers of University-educated women' Nineteenth Century, vol 37, 1895, p. 955-960
- Harrison, Brian Separate Spheres. The Opposition to Women's Suffrage in Britain. (London 1978)
- Holcombe, Lee Victorian Ladies at Work. (1973)

Hollis, Patricia	Women in Public: The women's movement 1850-1900. (London 1979)
Hubback, Judith	Wives who went to College. (London ,1957)
Kamm, Josephine	Hope Deferred. Girls' Education in English History. (London 1965)
Kamm, Josephine	Rapiers and Battleaxes. (1966)
King, Elspeth	The Scottish Women's Suffrage Movement (pamphlet Glasgow, 1978)
Lange, Helene	Higher Education of Women in Europe. (New York 1901)
Mann, Jean	Women in Parliament. (London,1962)
Marwick, Arthur	Women at War. (1977)
Marshall, R. K.	Virgins and Viragos. A History of Women in Scotland from 1080-1980. (1983)
Pederson, Joyce S.	'Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth Century England', Journal of British Studies, 15, 1975-6.
Peterson, M. Jeanne	'The Victorian Governess. Status Incongruence in Family and Society' in M Vicuus (Ed) Suffer and be Still.
McWilliams-Tullberg Rita	'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University 1862-1897' in M.Vicinus (Ed), A Widening Sphere. (1972)
McWilliams - Tullberg Rita	Women at Cambridge: A Men's University though of a mixed type. (London 1975)
Roe, Jill	'Modernisation and Sexism: Recent writings on Victorian Women', Victorian Studies 1977.
Rover, Constance	The Punch Book of Women's Rights. (London 1967)
Rowbotham, S.	Hidden from History. (1974)
Simmons, Adele	'Education and Ideology in Nineteenth Century America; The Response of Educational Institutions to the Changing role of women' in Carroll, B (Ed) Liberating Women's History. (1976)

Stephen, B.	Emily Davies and Girton College. (1927)
Thompson, Paul	The Edwardians. (1977)
Tournier, Michele	'Women and Access to University in France and Germany' in Comparative Education Vol 9, 1973.
Turner, Barry	Equality for some; the story of girl's education. (London 1974)
Tylecote, M.T.	The education of women at Manchester University 1883-1931. (1941)
Vicinus, M. (Ed)	Suffer and Be Still. (1972)
Vicinus, M. (Ed)	A Widening Sphere; Changing Roles of Victorian Women. (London 1977)
Vicinus, M. (Ed)	Independent Women. Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920. (1985)
Welter, B. (Ed)	The Woman - question in American History. (1973)
Women in Britain	(Central Office of Information. London 1949)

6. Recollections/Biographies/Oral History

Alexander, W.A.	'Seventy years on', UEJ vol 28, 1977-78
Bone, Kate Y.A.	'Fifty years on' UEJ, vol 26, 1973-4
Brittain, Vera	Testament of Youth. (London 1933)
Bryson, Elizabeth	Look Back in Wonder. (1979 reprint)
Caesar, Mrs Isobel M.	'A bajenella of 1894' AUR 29, 1941-2.
Clarke, Mary G.,	A short life of Ninety years. (Edinburgh 1973)
Conway, Elsie,	'Queen Margaret Hall', College Courant, xvii no 34.

Crichton, A.C.	'The University Revisited.' College Courant, xviii no 36.
Crichton, A.C.	'Finishing Schools for young ladies.' College Courant xix 38.
Glasgow Women's Study Group	Uncharted Lives. (Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences 1850-1982). (1983)
Haldane, Louisa K.	Friends and Kindred; Memoirs. (London 1961)
Howarth, T.E.B.	Cambridge between Two Wars. (1978)
House, Jessie	'Q.M. as I remember it.' College Courant, iv, 8.
Hutton, Isabella	Memoirs of a doctor in war and peace. (London 1960)
Illingworth, Sir Charles	University Statesman. Sir Hector Hetherington 1888-1965. (1971)
Laurence, Margaret J.P.	'Anecdotalage' UEJ vol 28, 1977-78 p 126-9
Lee, Jennie	This Great Journey. A volume of autobiography 1904-45. (London 1963)
Lochhead Marion	'War and Peace- and some pearls' College, Courant xxiv no 49.
Lumsden, Louisa Innes	Yellow leaves. (1933)
MacAlister, Edith	Sir Donald MacAlister of Tarbet. (London 1935)
McCrindle, Jean & Rowbotham, Sheila	Dutiful Daughters: women talk about their lives. (1977)
Mackie, C.E. Mrs	'Fifty years back.' Alumnus Chronicle, vol 43
McLaren, E.T. (Miss)	Recollections of the public work and home life of Louisa and Flora Stevenson. (1914) (ECL)
McNeill, Leila K.	Glasgow Herald 9/12/68.
Masson, Flora	Victorians All. (Edinburgh 1931)

- Mitchison, Naomi Small Talk. Memories of an Edwardian childhood. (1973)
- Mitchison, Naomi All Change Here: Childhood and Marriage. (London 1975)
- Moffat, Jean W. 'Random Recollections of a Fresher' UEL vol 25, 1971-2
- Morton, H.B. A Hillhead Album. (1973)
- Muir, Willa Belonging. A Memoir. (London 1968)
- Oakeley, Hilda D. My adventure in education. (London 1939)
- Phillips, Ann (Ed) A Newnham Anthology. (1979)
- Reminiscence work with Older People in Scotland. (Proceedings of the Exploring Living Memory Conference) (Nov. 1983)
- Rose, June A Perfect Gentleman. (London 1977)
- Scottish Biographies. (1938)
- Sillar, Eleanor Edinburgh's Child. (1961)
- Stanier, Maida Burnett 'The Old Order - an Undergraduate in the Twenties' vol 23, UEL 1967-8.
- Thompson, Paul The Voice of the Past. Oral History. (1978)
- Waterston, Mrs Ann 'Town Students' Association', Alumnus Chronicle, Vol 37, 1952.
- Watt, Edward W. 'A Bajan of 1894' AUR, 1941-2.

7. Medical Women

- Bell, E. Moberly Storming the Citadel. The Rise of the Woman Doctor. (London 1953).
- Comrie, J.D. History of Scottish Medicine. (Vol 1. Vol. 2) (1932)
- Engel, Barbara Alpern 'Women Medical Students in Russia 1872-1882. Reformers or Rebels?' Journal of Social History 1979.

- Fawcett, Millicent G. 'The Medical and General Education of Women' Fortnightly Review x, 1868.
- Lawrence, Margot Shadow of Swords. (London 1971)
- Jex-Blake, Sophia Medical Women. Two Essays. (1872)
- Jex-Blake, Sophia Medical Women: a thesis and history. (1886)
- Lutzker, Edythe Women gain a place in Medicine. (1969)
- Lutzker, Edythe Medical Education for Women in Great Britain. (1959)
- McLaren, Eva Shaw Elsie Inglis. The woman with the Torch. (1920)
- Manton, J.G. Elizabeth Garrett Anderson. (London 1965)
- Menzies Campbell, Mrs Redlands Hospital for Women. Glasgow Women's Private Hospital 1902-48 (1981)
- Todd, Margaret The life of Sophia Jex Blake. (1918)

8. Social Class and origins

- Anderson, C. Arnold 'The social composition of University student bodies, the recruitment of Nineteenth Century elites in Four Nations: a historical case study.' Year Book of Education (London 1968).
- Armstrong, W.A. 'The Use of Information about Occupation.' in Wrigley, E.A. (Ed) 19th Century Society. (1972)
- Bell, Colin R. Middle Class Families, social and geographical mobility. (London 1968)
- Cole, G.D.H. 'The conception of the middle classes.' British Journal Sociology 1950

- Collier, A. 'Social origins of a sample of entrants to Glasgow University.' Sociological Review 1938
- Glass, D.V. (Ed) Social Mobility in Britain. (1954)
- Hall, John
Jones Caradog D., 'Social Grading of Occupations.' in British Journal of Sociology, 1950
- Jenkins, Hester
Jones Caradog D., 'Social Class of Cambridge University Alumni in the 18th and 19th Centuries.' British Journal of Sociology, 1950.
- Kelly, Alison 'Family Background, subject specialisation and occupational recruitment of Scottish Universities some patterns and trends.' Higher Education, 1976, 177-88.
- Mathew, W.M. 'The origins and occupations of Glasgow students, 1740-1839' Past and Present 1966.
- Mercer, G.
Forsyth, David J.C. 'Some aspects of recruitment to school-teaching among university graduates in Scotland, 1860-1955.' British Journal of Educational Studies Vol xxiii No. 1, Feb 1975.
- McDonald, Ian D. 'Untapped reservoirs of talent? Social Class and opportunities in Scottish Higher Education 1910-60' Scottish Educational Studies, vol 1, 1967.
- MacLeod, Roy
Moseley, Russell 'Fathers and Daughters; reflections on women, science and Victorian Cambridge' History of Education 1979 Vol 8, No. 4, p 321-333
- Mitchell, J.Clyde (Ed) Social Networks in Urban Situations (1969)

9. Miscellaneous and Methodology

- Abrams, P. The Origins of British Sociology
1834-1914. (1968)
- Floud, R. An introduction to quantitative
methods for historians. (1973)
- MacLeod, Roy
Moseley, Russell 'Breadth, depth and excellence:
sources and problems in the History
of University science education in
England 1850-1941.'
Studies in Science Education vol 5,
(1978)
- Musgrave, P.W. The Sociology of Education. (1965)
- Register of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's
Signet. (1983)
- Wrigley, E.A. (Ed) Nineteenth Century Society Essays
in the use of qualitative methods
for the study of social data. (1972)
- Wrigley, E.A. Identifying People in the Past.
(1973)

10. Bibliographical

- Bauer, Carol and Ritt,
Lawrence Free and Ennobled. Source Readings
in the Development of Victorian
Feminism. (1979)
- Cassells, A. A Select Bibliography on the status
of Women. (Glasgow District
Libraries, 1981)
- Craigie, James A Bibliography of Scottish
Education 1872 - 1972
- Kanner, Barbara S. 'The women of England in a Century
of Social Change 1815-1914' in
Vicinus, M (ed) Suffer and Be
Still. (1972)
- Rowbotham, Sheila Women's Liberation and Revolution :
A Bibliography. (1973)
- Silver, Harold &
Teague, John S The history of British Universities
1800-1969 (excluding Oxford and
Cambridge) A Bibliography. (1970)